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AN EVALUATION OF THE KWAMSISI EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT IN TANZANIA

by

SAMUEL N.M. KILIMHANA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "AN EVALUATION OF THE KWAMSISI EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT IN TANZANIA" submitted by SAMUEL N.M. KILIMHANA in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

Supervisor

John Young

Arthur K. Davis

Date 24 September 1975

ABSTRACT

Tanzania, like many other Third World Countries, is committed to change from poverty and dependence to prosperity and independence. To achieve this goal Tanzania's national Party, TANU, decided to depend to the full on its internal resources which were to be used on a cooperative basis for development.

The decisions which were approved and stated in the policies of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (Socialism and Self-Reliance), were followed by a number of structural changes among which was the nationalization of the major means of production to facilitate a greater Government control of the investible surplus of the country. This was to ensure that industrial development will be in accordance with the national priorities and that there will be greater allocation of resources into rural development with the intention of making the traditional sector of the economy more attractive and productive.

Other changes planned included income re-distribution to encourage more active participation by the masses in development tasks, and changes in the educational system such that education will provide the youth with skills and predispositions that will enable them to participate more effectively in the development activities of both the modern and traditional sectors of the economy. Primary education in particular, was to prepare young men and women essentially for life in the rural areas and for farming. The policy of Education for Self-Reliance (EFSR) provided the blue-print for those changes.

The Kwamsisi project is one of the experiments in educational reform which is being carried out in Tanzania in an effort to increase the contribution made by the schools in national development, as spelt out in EFSR policy, and this study was intended to find out the extent to which the educational reform based on Kwamsisi experiment was in congruence with the EFSR policy aims. In order to achieve its goal this study attempted to look closely at the curriculum, the pedagogy and the school-community link developed at the Kwamsisi school. The findings of this study indicate that while the stated goals and content of the curriculum reflected consistency with the objectives of the educational policy there were certain structural features of the society and certain practices in the teaching profession which adversely affect the attainment of some of the goals set out in the EFSR policy statement.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vi

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF FIGURES viii

LIST OF MAPS ix

Chapter

I THE PROBLEM 1

  Introduction 1

  Purpose of Study 5

  Organization of the Study 6

  Limitations 6

  Methods of data collection 7

  Background Facts on Tanzania 8

II TANZANIA'S CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT 19

  General Concept of "Development" 19

    Passivistic-Oriented Theories 20

    Activistic-Oriented Theories 23

    Passivistic-Activistic Oriented Theories 34

  Tanzania's Concept of Development 39

    Policies of Socialism and Self Reliance 44

    Development Strategies 45

    Conclusion 50

Page

Chapter

III TANZANIA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY.............................. 57

Development Policy and Role of Education 57

Educational Policy 58

Consistency of Educational Policy with National Development Policy 69

Conclusion 73

IV KWAMSISI EDUCATIONAL REFORM PROJECT.......................... 77

Background to Kwamsisi Project 77

The Kwamsisi Pilot Project 79

Inquiry 89

The Problem 89

Methods of Inquiry 90

Sampling 91

Findings 93

Possible Sources of Weakness 130

V CONCLUSION... 144

Summary of the Findings 144

Recommendations 152

Areas for Further Research 157

SOURCES CONSULTED.. 161

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1	Size of the United Republic of Tanzania in square miles	8
2	Population Distribution by Age Groups: Tanzania Mainland..................................	12
3	The Contribution of Agriculture to Gross Domestic Product (1971-72).........................	14
4	Tanzania Wage/Salary Employment 1962-1971..........	15
5	Kwamsisi School Attendance 1971-1974...............	84
6	Kwamsisi Graduates 1973 and 1974...................	126

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Description	Page
1	Approaches to development and Process of Change from one Model to Another..........................	38

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Description	Page
1	United Republic of Tanzania	10
2	Kwamsisi Ujamaa Village and School	92

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

A Introduction

In most countries education is often regarded both as an item of investment and one of consumption. As an investment item it is supposed to contribute to the national efforts to increase production and incomes, and to raise the living standards of the people in those countries.

Tanzania,like other less developed countries, has tended to emphasize the investment rather than consumption aspect of education; and the national leaders have this objective clearly spelt out in Education for Self Reliance[1] and embodied in the country's development plans. According to President Nyerere, education given to the few must be for service of the majority. It should not be regarded mainly as an item conferring status on the individual. Therefore, primary as well as secondary education must, according to the policy, "be complete education in itself." That means education ought to prepare young men and women for life and service in the rural areas rather than serve mainly as a qualification for entry into higher academic institutions per se.

The policy statement has important implications for primary school curriculum development and implementation. It means that education even at at the primary level has to be "vocational." Pupils have to acquire the attitudes and predispositions, the skills and the knowledge which would lay the foundation of their becoming more efficient farmers in Tanzanian society, improving in addition their ability to cope with the daily life problems of the rural communities.

In addition to this, primary schools will continue to be feeder institutions to other post-primary educational institutions, especially the secondary schools to which a small percentage of the pupils will be sent to be trained in higher level skills as a means of the country achieving self-sufficiency in its higher level manpower needs. In view of this, therefore, primary education must also be able to provide some background skills to help the potential secondary-school entrants.

The blue print, in terms of principles to be followed in reforming the educational system along this direction, has already been set out in Education for Self-Reliance.[2] However,there are two important problems which face the Tanzanian educator and which affect the success of any proposed educational reform. The first problem is that of designing a curriculum that provides an education which includes all the elements specified in the policy paper and which will produce young men and women who not only have rural-oriented ideas and skills, but who are also willing to use their knowledge and skills for the development of their communities. For the provision of ideas and skills related to agriculture is only part of the job. Another task is the inculcation of positive attitudes towards life in the rural areas and towards cooperative work which will enable the youths to apply the acquired skills and knowledge for the good of their communities.

The second problem has to do with the people's acceptance of the proposed new type of education. For prior to 1967, education was conceived by the masses as a means of escaping from the essentially rural agricultural life of the country to a more comfortable, urban white-collar job. In meeting this need, primary education served for some as a ticket to secondary schools or to vocational training institutions, while for others it was a qualification for a wage-earning job of one type or another. If the youth failed to get into a further education institution or into a wage-earning employment, they regarded their primary education as a waste. This problem was being aggravated by the fact that the opportunities for higher learning or obtaining wage-employment were decreasing. The pupils, their peers, their parents and their teachers, all considered primary education primarily as an instrument of social mobility. As such, education was meant to benefit mainly the individual and his relatives. To change the attitude of the people in order to get them to accept the idea that the most relevant form of primary education at this stage of Tanzania's development is that which prepares a pupil for life in the rural area - that had become a difficult problem.

Despite this, the Government in 1967 set out to reform primary education. In 1969 a new primary school syllabus was issued[3], and a year later an experimentation in the use of the new syllabus began. At the same time a re-orientation programme for serving Grade C and B teachers was started under the administration of the Government of Tanzania and the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)[4]. The aim of this programme was to familiarize the teachers with the revised curriculum content and new teaching techniques.

Another part of the reform was the introduction of a system of education whereby a school would be integrated with its surrounding community by relating the curriculum content to the daily life problems and needs of the locality and by involving the community members in the daily activities of the local community. This was to be first done on a trial basis, and if successful the system was to be introduced on a wider scale. Kwamsisi school which is in Kwamsisi Ujamaa Village, and close to Korogwe College of National Education, was selected for the experiment. In March 1971, what is commonly known as the "Kwamsisi Pilot Project was launched.[5]

Only two years later, a group of political leaders who had visited Kwamsisi and had seen the project proposed that the system of education in Kwamsisi be established in other Ujamaa villages also.[6] It is the opinion of the writer that, as an experiment, Kwamsisi needs an objective evaluation before it is duplicated elsewhere in the country. One advantage of such an evaluation would be the possible identification of the strong and weak elements of the project in the light of the set goals of education, and should provide important clues towards improving the proposed new efforts in extending the programme.

The other advantage is the possibility of preventing unnecessary costs involved in the duplication of the project. For the duplication of the Kwamsisi educational system may involve, inter alia, the changing of the existing system of primary schools, modifying the existing teacher education and facing the accompanying problems of book production and re-orientation of in-service teachers. Since a considerable concurrent investment in economic projects has been an important component of the Kwamsisi project, it becomes even more necessary for a poor nation such as Tanzania, whose leadership is so conscious about the nation's financial constraints, to make sure that any costs on such projects are incurred only after the related experiments have been rigorously evaluated.

This study has been prompted by such considerations.

II Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is:

(1) to examine the curriculum content of Kwamsisi Primary School to see whether it reflects the key elements contained in the Education for Self-Reliance (EFSR) policy - these elements include the inculcation of skills and attitudes of

(a) awareness
(b) activity
(c) self help
(d) cooperation.

(2) to assess the teaching approaches used by Kwamsisi school teachers in order to see whether they are compatible with the EFSR policy aims and objectives.

(3) to examine the nature of the link, if any, that has developed between the school and the village in Kwamsisi.

(4) to see whether there is a tendency for Kwamsisi school graduates to migrate to urban centres and whether those who have

remained in the community have attempted to use in their farming practices and in their daily lives the skills and values which the Kwamsisi school is supposed to inculcate.

III Organisation of the Study

A survey of some theories of development will be made; and in the light of the theories an examination of Tanzania's definition of development, her goals and strategies will be attempted. This will be the subject matter for Chapter Two.

Chapter Three will include the analysis of Tanzania's educational policy, and will examine how this policy fits in with Tanzania's larger developmental goals.

Chapter Four will consist of a description of Kwamsisi Project and an attempt to assess how it fits in with the educational aims enunciated in the Education for Self-Reliance policy and the national development goals.

Conclusions and summary of the study will be in Chapter Five.

IV Limitations

The study is limited to an evaluation of Kwamsisi Project because of time and financial constraints. It would have been useful to compare this attempted reform with changes in other primary schools but it was not possible to do so in this study.

Since the research attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of the Kwamsisi educational reform another limitation is obvious: the programme under study is only about four years old, and intended results of educational programmes usually take a much longer time to appear.

E Significance of the Study

The study seeks to examine the success of Tanzania's latest primary education reform and its effectiveness in the light of the national development goals. In view of this purpose, therefore, it is hoped that the study will of significance to:

a) the Ministry of National Education, especially the Directorate of Teacher Education which administers the Kwamsisi project, and the Directorate of Primary Education which is in charge of the primary school system in Tanzania;

b) the College of National Education involved in the training of new teachers and reorientation of in-service teachers for primary schools; perhaps a special mention has to be made of Korogwe College which has had a direct involvement in the Kwamsisi Project.

In addition it is hoped that this study will provide some base for further research in related fields. Finally, the study may also be of value to a general understanding of the nature of problems in making education contribute to the transformation of one socio-economic system to another and may provide some insights useful especially for other developing countries.

F Methods of data collection

Various methods were employed in collecting data for the study in the hope that the use of such a variety of methods would enrich the data both quantitatively and qualitatively.

1. The study used documents. Those were largely government documents, UNICEF and UNESCO reports on the educational reform under study, and various official documents and records from Kwamsisi school as well as from Korogwe College of National Education.

2. Personal observation of class situations, meetings and other school and village functions in Kwamsisi were made.

3. Interviews were also conducted with many key individuals, especially in connection with assessing various people's attitudes towards the experiment in school-village link.

G Background Facts on Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania which includes Tanzania Mainland (formerly Tanganyika) and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba has an area of 364,970 square miles. Out of this area, the mainland has 363,950 square miles of which about 341,150 square miles is land-area and 22,800 square miles are covered by Water and swamps (Table 1).

Table 1 : Size of the United Republic of Tanzania
(in square miles)

	Land	Water and swamps	Total
Mainland	341,150	22,800	363,950
The Islands	1,020	-	1,020
Total	342,170	22,800	364,970

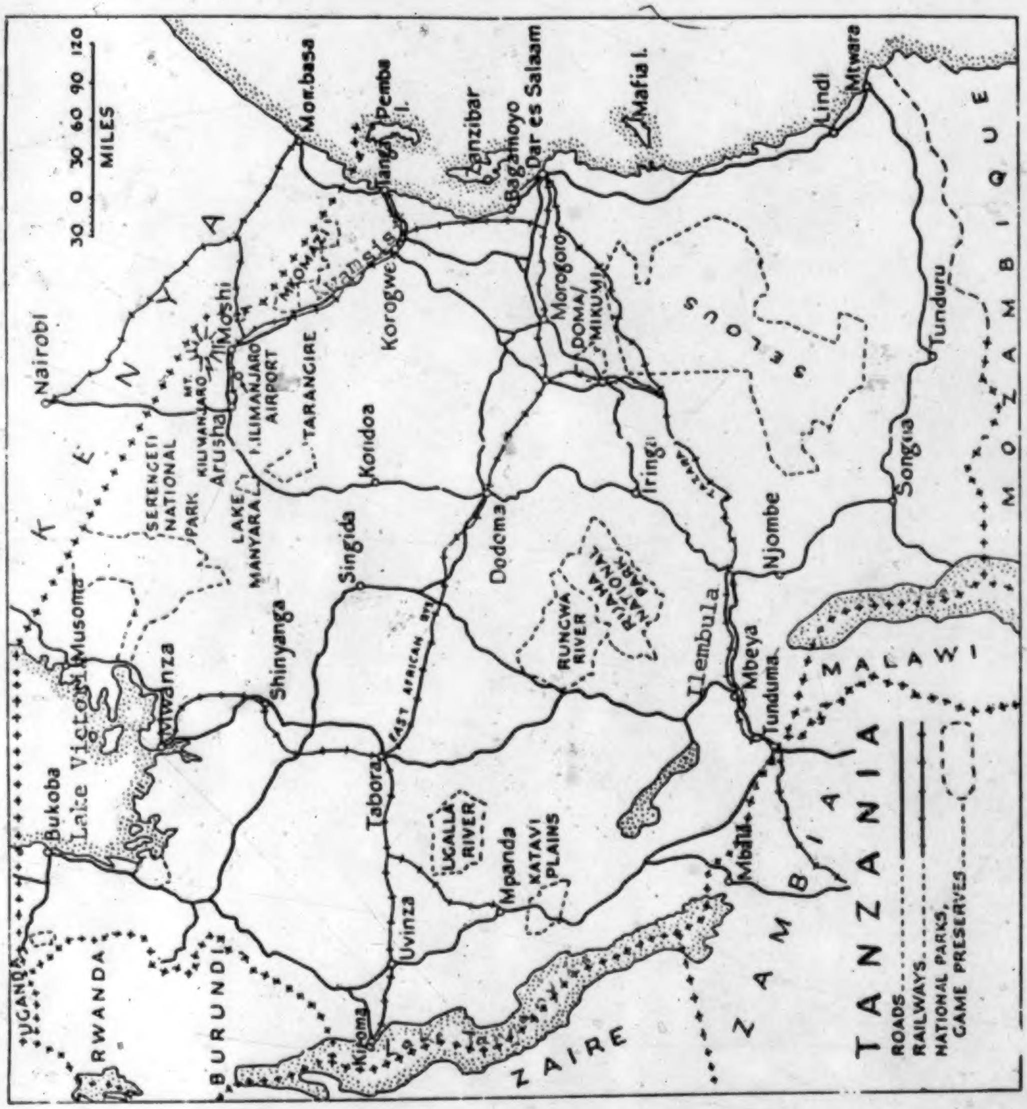
Tanzania attained her political independence on December 9, 1961 and became a republic a year later. Zanzibar was declared independent in December 1963 though under an Arab minority rule. This rule was overthrown in January 1964 and the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar established on April 12, 1964.

The year 1967 witnessed Tanzania's declaration of the policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance contained in the Arusha Declaration, emphasizing equality in opportunity, the value for human dignity and the need for self-help in national development. According to the policies, national development was to be brought about through a maximum utilization of the country's internal resources especially its land and labour resources. In the same year President Nyerere issued two important documents intended as guides in the implementation of socialism and self-reliance policies. Socialism and Rural Development provided suggestions on how rural development could be brought about, and Education for Self-reliance (EFSR) proposed an educational strategy for development.

Tanzania's physical build is characterised by a variety of features. From the east to the west, the land rises steadily reaching 4,000 feet above sea-level and then dips into Lake Tanganyika (Map 1). From the south and south-west to the north and north-east Tanzania is characterized by mountains and high plateaus on both ends and by lowland in the centre. Thus the Mbeya and Iringa regions, in the south, and Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Bukoba regions are essentially highland areas. The central zone, including the Dodoma and Tabora regions, represents a plateau which is generally lower than the land in the south and the north.

The river system includes rivers draining into the Indian Ocean such as the Rufiji, Ruvu, Pangani and Wami and those that drain into the interior basins or into Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa.

Map 1: The United Republic of Tanzania


30 0 30 60 90 120
MILES
KENYA
Nairobi
Mombasa
Tanga
Pemba I.
Zanzibar
Bagamoyo
Dar es Salaam
Mafia I.
Lindi
Mtwara
MOZAMBIQUE
Tunduru
Songea
SELOUS
Morogoro
DOMA/MIKUMI
Iringa
Njombe
MALAWI
Mbeya
Tunduma
Ilembula
RUAHA NATIONAL PARK
RUNGWA RIVER
Dodoma
Kondoa
Korogwe
MKOMAZI
Moshi
MT. KILIMANJARO
KILIMANJARO AIRPORT
TARANGIRE
Arusha
LAKE MANYARA
SERENGETI NATIONAL PARK
Musoma
Lake Victoria
Mwanza
Bukoba
Shinyanga
Singida
Tabora
EAST AFRICAN RY.
UGALLA RIVER
KATAVI PLAINS
Mpanda
Uvinza
Kigoma
Lake Tanganyika
ZAIRE
ZAMBIA
Mbala
UGANDA
RWANDA
BURUNDI
TANZANIA
ROADS
RAILWAYS
NATIONAL PARKS, GAME PRESERVES

Hydroelectric power of rivers Pangani and Great Ruaha has been harnessed and plans to utilize to the maximum the electric power and irrigation potential of the other rivers have been drawn and incorporated in the Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974).

Most of Tanzania's climate is characterized by a short rainy season and a long dry season. Most of the country has one rainy season which is between December and May. The exception is the highland areas of the north and south where two peaks of rainfall can be identified. The first is between October and November; and the second between April and May. The greatest part of the country receives rainfall below 20 inches per year. About 20 per cent gets 30 inches of rainfall while only 3 per cent gets over 50 inches per year. The temperatures vary according to altitude with highest along the coast (average 79° F.), getting lower, the higher the altitude. The decrease in temperature is 3°F. for every 1000 feet rise. Because of the short period of rainfall and the long dry period, there is generally a net loss of water through evaporation.

Tanzania's estimated population in 1973 was 13.9 million, the rate of growth being 2.7 per cent. According to 1967 census figures, 44 per cent of the population comprised children up to fourteen years of age; 13 per cent comprised men and women 45 years and above. The economically most active population was therefore 43 per cent (Table 2). The majority of the people live in rural areas with only 6.3 per cent living in the urban centres. Dar-es-Salaam, the capital and largest port, has a population of 280,000 and Tanga, the second largest city, 65,000.

The Gross Domestic Product at current factor cost in 1971 amounted to 8,846 million Tanzanian shillings. The growth rate of the

Table 2: Population Distribution by Age Groups : Tanzania Mainland

Age Group	Size	Per cent of Total
0 - 5	2,137,380	17.9
5 - 14	3,106,614	26.0
15 - 24	2,284,380	19.1
25 - 34	1,649,989	13.8
35 - 44	1,166,982	9.8
45 - 34	784,916	6.5
55 - 64	494,689	4.1
65+	333,703	2.8
Total	11,958,653	100.0

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, 1967 Population Census Vol.6, Census Analysis, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

national income was about 5.25 per cent over the First Five-Year Plan (1964-69) period, and the growth rate target for the Second Five Year Plan (1969-74) was 6.7 per cent. The income per capita is about 628 Tanzanian shillings. The uneven income distribution between groups of individuals, regions and districts, however, makes the figure not very meaningful.[7]

Agriculture is the mainstay of Tanzania's economy, with 40 per cent of the GDP coming from the agricultural sector (Table 3). In addition, 80 per cent of the total exports consists of agricultural products, the major crops being cotton, coffee, sisal, cloves, and cashew nuts. Further, agriculture is a source of employment for over 90 per cent of the economically active population, wage employment providing for less than 10 per cent of the total labour force (Table 4). The government aims at increasing production and at the same time diversifying the economy, largely through encouraging the development of ujamaa villages in rural areas.

The manufacturing sector, unlike the agricultural one, is small; its contribution to the GDP is only about 10 per cent, and it employs about 14 per cent of the wage-earning labour force. Industrial growth has been between 10 and 15 per cent each year for the past few years. The major feature of the manufacturing sector has been the production of consumer goods intended to reduce dependence on imports of such commodities as food. Nevertheless, the production of producer goods such as farming implements, fertilizers, cement and other machinery is now being given emphasis as well.

Most of the industrial activity has been centred in Dar-es-Salaam. However, attempts to spread the benefits of industry to the rest of the country are being made. For example, the Second Five-Year Plan

Table 3: Contribution of Agriculture to Gross Domestic Product (at current factor cost in million shillings 1971-1972)

	1971	1972
Agriculture	3494	3956
Mining	121	124
Manufacturing	893	973
Construction	481	501
Public Utilities	91	107
Transport	788	867
Commerce	1170	1280
Rent	921	1052
Other Services	1018	1142
	8977	10,002
Less Imputed Bank Service Charges	-131	-152
Total GDP	8,846	9,850

Table 4: Tanzania Wage/Salary Employment 1962-1971[a]

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968[b]	1969	1970	1971
Non-agricultural	193,183	174,812	187,662	194,333	210,274	224,394	245,200	225,047	268,267	292,220
Agricutural	203,845	165,532	163,589	139,162	126,223	124,187	109,700	112,888	107,368	109,692
Total	397,028	340,344	351,257	333,755	336,497	348,580	354,900	367,935	375,635	401,912

Sources: The United Republic of Tanzania, *Tanzania Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1st July, 1969 - 30th June, 1974* 1 (Dar-es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1969); p. 24 and *Statistical Abstract 1970* (Dar-es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1972).

a. According to 1967 Population Census, the total labour force was about 6 million.

b. The figures under 1968, 1970 and 1971 columns are mere estimates.

projected the expenditure of 81 per cent of the total investment on industrial development outside Dar-es-Salaam.

Most of the capital investment is from internal sources. About 65 per cent of the total expenditure for the First Five-Year Plan (1964-1969) came from local sources. The Government envisaged obtaining from internal sources 57 per cent of the total expenditure for the Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974) and only 43 per cent from external sources.

Tanzania's educational system is essentially public and centralized. The majority of the educational institutions are financed and staffed by the Government. However there are still a number of educational institutions which are privately owned. These institutions include primary, secondary and vocational schools e.g. nursing, home-economics, commercial, and technical schools.

Curriculum planning is centralized. The Ministry of National Education, in liason with the Institute of Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, is in charge of the curriculum - its planning and implementation. Private institutions use either government-planned or approved curricula and,with a few exceptions, students in these institutions are subjected to the same examinations as the students in public schools or sit for examinations recognized by the Government. Certification follows similar principles as do examinations.

Three major levels of formal education can be identified in Tanzania's educational system. These are

a) Primary education, which is of seven years' duration and which is provided to about 50 per cent of school-age children.[8]

b) Secondary education which is of two levels and provides for less than 10 per cent of standard-seven graduates.

  i) Forms I-IV (4 years),
  ii) Forms V-VI (2 years).

c) Higher education which is of various types

  i) University education
  ii) Vocational education including
    - Teacher education
    - Technical education (as provided by the Technical College, Dar-es-Salaam)
    - Medical and nursing education
    - Others.

The whole educational system is supposed to be based on the principles enunciated in the Education for Self-Reliance policy which became effective from 1967.

Footnotes

1. "Education for Self Reliance" is a policy statement on Tanzanian education by President Nyerere. The policy is avilable in a pamphlet form and in a number of books including J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 267-290.

2. Ibid.

3. Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, Muhtasari ya Shule za Msingi Kwa Madarasa ya I-VII / Syllabus of Instruction for Primary Schools for Standards I-VII (Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1969).

4. In Tanzania, Grade C teachers have had 8 or 7 years of academic education plus 2 years of teacher training. Grade B teachers usually have had 10 years of academic education plus 2 years teacher training, or promoted from Grade C status considering their length of service or some upgrading courses or both.

5. Kwamsisi is a typical Tanzanian Ujamaa village. It has 280 families, a primary school with grades I-VII. and is about 15 kilometers from Korogwe Teachers' College. Ujamaa is a concept meaning "family hood." The members of an Ujamaa Village live together and cooperatively undertake economic production.

6. C. Tosh, "Kwamsisi Pilot Project Report, 1973." (Mimeographed.)

7. Since 1967 the Government has taken various measures to minimize the inequalities between groups, regions and districts. Some of the measures are taxation, rents, spread of industrial investments to regions, etc.

8. According to TANU's 1974 Musoma Resolution, the provision of primary education by 1977 is to be extended to all children of primary school-going age.

CHAPTER TWO

TANZANIA'S CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Since the focus of this study is in the general area of education and development and more specifically is concerned with the evaluation of an educational project from the point of view of its contribution to the development needs of the country, a prior clarification of the general concept of development and how it is interpreted in the Tanzanian context seems necessary. Therefore in this Chapter an attempt will be made to look somewhat critically at the general concept of "development" and later more specifically at how development is seen or interpreted in the Tanzanian context.

A. General Concept of "Development"

Social scientists for centuries have attempted to build up models of change or development of societies. These models have differed in many ways especially in their conception of how the development process takes place. One of these perspectives has focussed on the role of man in the change or development process. While some theories explicitly or implicitly suggest that man is incapable of instigating or guiding change, others advance the view that man has an active role to play in the development of his society. Yet other theories view man as playing only a limited role in development as compared with other societal forces. For the purpose of this study the first of these views will be referred to as "passivistic", the second "activistic", and the third "passivistic-activistic" in orientation.

It is important to point out from the outset that the formulation of models of development itself often implies an element of "passivism" in so far as it presupposes that Third World countries will use the models to guide their development. Though an important consideration in the analysis of how development occurs, this type of "passivism" does not form a part of the above classification of development theories.

1. Passivistic-Oriented Theories of Development

Theories of development with a passivistic orientation view man as having no active role to play in the development of his society. They view development as being brought about by immanent forces within societies, with which man cannot significantly interfere. According to this kind of model of development, change takes a predetermined course and direction with the ultimate form of society sometimes "known" in advance. Above all, this type of development is usually seen to be universal. All societies are inevitably bound to develop in the predetermined way.

Such a passivistic view of development is presented by some evolutionary and modernization theorists. Comte and Eisenstadt's views provide an example of passivistic orientation as will be shown in the following review of their ideas.

(a) Auguste Comte's View

Comte viewed civilization as developing along a course predetermined by nature, a course which all societies were destined to follow.

Having studied the history of some western societies from the eleventh century to his day Comte concluded:

> The experience of the past proves, in the most decisive manner, that the progressive march of civilization follows a natural and unavoidable course.[1]

According to Comte the capitalist industrial society, characteristic of the western countries and some of the eastern countries such as Japan, was the ultimate form of society into which all the countries were bound to develop.

Comte identified three stages through which civilization progressed. The first is the theological in which man's mode of thinking was essentially religious and his social organization militaristic. The second is the metaphysical, the intellectual state being abstract and the social organization showing no clear form, as it is a transitional stage. The final stage is the industrial and is characterised by scientific thinking. All the stages are predetermined by nature and while development may be accelerated or slowed down by various forces - physical and moral - "none of the intermediate steps which it prescribes can be evaded."[2]

Comte's view of development demonstrates several weaknesses. First, his view is ethnocentric. He paints a beautiful picture of the capitalist industrial society, neglecting the negative aspects of the system such as the excessive inequalities in incomes between individuals, and the economic exploitation of the workers by capitalist entrepreneurs.[3] Second, his developmental model is unilinear. Comte suggests that there is only one road to improved well-being. History, however, provides examples of development along different lines.

The Soviet Union, China, Cuba and Tanzania are such examples. Third, Comte's view of development greatly underestimates man's potential in instigating and directing social change. Contrary to Comte's estimations, man has shown a considerable capacity to determine the type of future he wants and how to bring that future to reality. Because of its being greatly removed from reality the model is therefore not useful as a guide for development for any society.

(b) Eisenstadt's View

Eisenstadt's view of development is that it is a process of transformation of societies into forms of socio-economic organization found in West European and North American countries. In his definition of modernization, which is one kind of development, Eisenstadt says

> Modernization is a process of change towards those types of social, economic, and political systems that have developed in western Europe and North America ... and have then spread to other European countries and ... to South American, Asian, and African continents.[4]

Further Eisenstadt describes the process of transformation as a replacement of the old (the indigenous) values and institutions by new sets of external values and patterns of behaviour and institutions. What Eisenstadt is describing is essentially the diffusion of western values and ideas into the "less developed" countries.

Thus, according to this view, Third World countries inevitably will develop into capitalist societies like those in western countries and development will come about through the diffusion of western ideas and values into Third World countries. Apparently the "less developed" countries do not have to do anything about their development for, according to Einsdadt's view, development is progressively diffusing from the "modernized" into the "modernizing" countries, including those of the Third World. If anything the modernizing countries simply have to wait for the diffusion to take place. Even Frank makes a similar observation in his criticism of the diffusionist theorists:

> ... the diffusionists do not suggest to the people of the underdeveloped world that they inquire into and remove the causes of underdevelopment; instead they advise them to await and welcome the diffusion of development aid from the outside.[5]

Third World countries cannot simply emulate the development pattern of industrialized countries essentially because the objective conditions of the two types of countries, as well as their history, are basically different. Therefore this model of development is of little use as a guide for the development of Third World countries.

2. Activistic-Oriented Theories of Development

Theories with an activistic orientation advance the notion that development is the result of man's intervention with his environment. Kunkel, for instance, sees man as the most significant factor in economic development. He says:

> When the process of economic development is dissected into its various components, a major part and perhaps its most significant element turns out to be the behaviour of men.[6]

He argues that man will contribute to the development of society provided that his actions are rewarded. Thus the major concern for Third World countries, according to this view, should be to change the reward structures of the society ... which will allow or encourage greater participation in its different economic activities.

Economists advance a similar view as they stress the role of man in economic development. Rostow, for example, stresses the need for a group of people to introduce new methods of production, and for popular positive response to the changes in order for economic take-off to be achieved.[7]

However, even though these theories seem to share the view that man has an active part in the development of societies, they differ in their details about the degree of man's involvement in change. Whereas some theories are elitist in their approach and suggest that development is essentially the work of a few people, others are populist in orientation and suggest that development is and should be the responsibility of all the members of the society concerned.

(a) The Elitist Model

The elitist approach to development embodies the notion that the development of a nation is basically the result of the efforts of a few, specially talented, individuals. Development is seen as a special kind of experience or activity for which only particular types of individuals are really needed to make it a reality. Such is the trend of thinking of such scholars as Toynbee, Martindale and Shils.

i) Arnold Toynbee's View

Toynbee views developing societies as dynamic and distinguishes them from the primitive societies which he considers as static. The dynamism of those societies undergoing civilization or development is characterised by an interaction between challenges and responses. The interaction can be between man and the physical environment or between man and man. Challenges are essentially presented by adverse conditions of various types - floods, military defeat, external threat and the exploitation of certain classes and races by others and according to Toynbee, the development of societies will depend on the nature of the response of societies to these various challenges. But more significantly development is dependent on the presence of an elite who control the response. Toynbee points out that:

> All acts of social creation are the work either of the individual creator or, at most, of creative minorities ....[8]

Toynbee sees the masses as a "rear-guard" following the footsteps of the creative individuals. The elite's task is to "contrive some means of carrying this sluggish rear-guard along with them in their eager advance."[9]

ii) Don Martindale's View

Martindale's view of man's role in development is that in social and cultural change each individual is basically an innovator.

However, in this kind of change institutions or cultural forms tend to be re-grouped at central points. Because of this regrouping, the individual innovators at the focal points tend to "come clearly into focus." Such innovators at the centre are "the intellectuals of the society or civilization in question."[10]

The importance of the elite according to Martindale is in his being a system innovator, a representative and justifier of the whole system. Martindale's estimation of the elite is perhaps best explained in his own words:

> While the intellectual is never the sole source of change, his peculiarity is that of system innovator. Though his primary institutional location is most often in some branch of socialization, his special tasks include acting as a representative and justifier of the whole.[11]

Thus Martindale's view about the elite's rôle is slightly different from Toynbee's since he also sees other people (the masses) as potential innovators. What distinguishes the latter from the intellectuals is apparently only their position in the social system. Nevertheless Martindale views the elite as playing a specially significant role in the development of their societies.

iii) Edward Shils' View

Shils' view is that the elite- political, intellectual, and military- are a crucial element in the modernization of the new states of Africa and Asia. The elite are regarded as the engineers of the social, economic and political development in those countries, as the following quote suggests:

> Intellectuals must play a central role ...

> at all levels of administration. In their hands must rest educational responsibilities and the responsibility for the formation of opinion ... which provides the medium of particular policies."[12]

In summary, then, the elitist view puts the elite at the top and the rest of the people at the bottom in the development process. Change in this model comes from the top, the elite being the agents and the masses the beneficiaries.

The assumptions implicit in this type of relationship between the elite and the masses is that first, the elite represents the interests of the masses. What the elite does is in the best interest of the masses. Second, the elite has the "will to be modern." That is, the elite is for change. But empirical evidence suggests that this is not always true. Mills in his study of the American elite, has shown that the elite maintains power for its own end.[13] Goode presents a case of lawyers in Colombia, who attempted to defend their old values against proposed changes.[14]

What the studies by Mills and Goode suggest is that the advantages and inevitability of development by the elite which some scholars proclaim should not be taken for granted. In fact the potential for innovation which other people in a social system possess, as Martindale's theory suggests, should be exploited for the development of the society.

The elitist model of development has its variant which is usually propounded by the capitalist oriented economists. In this study it will be referred to as the "competitive, individualistic model," and because of its popularity in capitalist societies it will be treated as a separate model. Its underlying ideas will be discussed below.

(b) The Competitive, Individualistic Model

Theories that advance the competitive, individualistic approach to development stress the free market and competition as the key element in economic development. Their theme is essentially this: for rapid economic development there must be a free market system and individuals allowed or encouraged to own the means of production and to compete for profits arising from production and sales. Through competition, an efficient mobilization of resources is made possible, output is maximized, and the consumer has a wider range of goods to buy at a relatively lower price than is the case in a non-competitive system.

Implicit in this view is the idea that in the free market system the individual has a chance of acquiring wealth if he so wants. An additional assumption is that the result of the operation of this type of system is the spread of development benefits to all the members of the society in question. These assumptions are questionable. Firstly, the way in which the "free enterprise" system operates, does not make it easy for all individuals to get wealthy. The competition involved is, in practice, not between all individuals; It is rather between a few individuals owning big businesses and others owning small businesses, and because of the financial strength of the former they as seen for example in the multi-national corporations, inevitably have an upper hand.

Secondly, the even distribution of development benefits to the rest of the members of the society does not take place. Normally the social system is such that the poor remain poor. Even the special Senate Committee on Poverty in Canada makes a similar observation when it reports "Our society puts too many people in double-jeopardy: it penalizes and stigmatizes those who earn little or no money, yet gives them little opportunity to succeed."[15] The problem is related to the socio-economic system. More specifically, it is a problem of vested interests of those in control of the economy, who normally also control decision-making institutions and influence policies. Mills, describing the power of big businessmen and their impact on national policies in the United States of America, remarks:

> There is no effective counter-vailing power against the coalition of big businessmen - who, as political outsiders, now occupy the command posts ... they represent and indeed embody quite specific interests and policies.[16]

Hence the competitive, individualistic approach is not useful for Third World Countries where it is a politico-economic necessity that, all the people in these countries be involved in national development and that there should be a fair distribution of the development benefits - incomes and services. These countries cannot afford to waste labour or under-utilize it if the intention is (and should be because of their poverty) to maximize production and maintain political and economic independence. Unlike most rich nations, Third World Countries cannot manage to mechanize agriculture fully and establish large capital-intensive industries to absorb the surplus labour from the land, without getting into great national debt and dependence on foreign power which is antithetical to the very struggles for independence made against the colonial powers. If it is necessary then that all the people are involved in national development it is also necessary for motivation's sake that a fair distribution of the national wealth among the people be made. What this implies is that the concentration of wealth in a few hands and the monopoly of decision-making powers by a few people which is characteristic of societies using the competitive, individualistic model of development, is a setback in development struggles by Third World Countries.

All the same, both the elitist and competitive individualistic oriented theories which have been discussed so far represent only one side of the activistic-oriented approach to development. The other side of the activistic approach is represented by theories with a populist, cooperative orientation which will be examined in the next section.

(c) The Populist Model

Theories with a populist orientation advance the view that the development of a society is the responsibility of all the members of the given society rather than one of the elite alone. Their emphasis is grassroot participation in decision-making. While they accept the role of leadership, they reject the notion that the elite is the inevitable source of development. Thus their model is one that advocates change from the bottom. Freire and Goulet are some of the outstanding proponents of this approach.

i) Paulo Freire's View

Freire's approach in education and in national development for Third World Countries emphasizes mass participation. In education Freire suggests the use of strategies that actively involve students in problem solving, and creative work rather than the methods which treat the students as ignorant and lacking the creative power. Freire is especially critical of the "banking" concept of education - the teachers regarded as bankers of knowledge and the students as mere recipients of the knowledge.

Regarding national development, Freire suggests that the masses should be encouraged to work their own way out of oppression and poverty. He argues that it is man's vocation to make himself more fully human and suggests two steps which the masses must take in liberating themselves from the conditions of poverty and subjugation. First, they must develop the awareness that they are human, that they have been subjugated under those in power, and that they can transform the conditions that make them less human. So that it is the combination of reflection and action which are the essential ingredients in the liberation of the masses. This point is made clear when he says that the necessary condition for development of the masses is that "the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation."[17]

Freire sees the role of the elite as being to ensure that the masses achieve their self-liberating struggle. To do this the elite must establish a dialogical relationship with the people, the important thing being to let the people engage in decision-making. Without their reflective participation, the people's development will be meaningless. As Freire himself puts it:

> Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building ... it is to transform them into masses which can be manipulated.[18]

ii) Denis Goulet's View

Goulet's approach like Freire's lays emphasis on the involvement of all the people in bringing about their own development. According to Goulet "all men are entitled to become agents and not beneficiaries" of development.[19] In order to involve all men in the development of their societies a two-way communication between the leaders and the masses must be established. With some structural organization such communication and therefore optimum participation by the masses can be realized.

Goulet challenges the notion that the elites are inevitable in development and cites examples of successes where the elite has been accountable to the masses as in China, and the elite from urban centres are involved in agricultural activities in the rural areas as in Cuba. He proposes the utilization of certain leadership or innovative potential from the masses and notes that such "popular elites" have to be chosen by the masses themselves.

These are a few examples of the theme underlying the populist-oriented theories of development. The populist model, like the elitist has a variant. This will be referred to as "collective (cooperative) model". It is one advanced by socialist-oriented economists and its features will be shown later.

(d) The Collective Model

The basic notion in the collective-oriented approach is that the public, through their government, should control the means of production and exchange. According to this view such control enables the government to utilize the investible surplus accruing from production into enterprises of national interest. In addition, the economic control facilitates a more equitable income distribution among the people. The government being the employer of the majority of the people it is easy to make changes in wages and salaries by which income inequalities could be more easily reduced.

Paul Baran attempts to justify the choice of this approach by Third World Countries by providing the following reasons for the State to play a more dominant role in the ownership and control of the economy in developing countries:

(i) the shortage of investible funds which is due to low incomes in general, and to failure by the few with high incomes to save and invest in productive activities;

(ii) the lack of investment opportunities, that is, the existence of a limited effective demand: most people have small incomes which are spent on the purchases of cheap goods, and therefore investment in the production of such goods brings little profit; similarly, the demand for luxury goods is limited to the few high-income earners and therefore investment in the production of only a few such goods is of little profit;

(iii) the monopolistic nature of markets makes investment in the production of certain goods such as agricultural products too risky for the investors; and

(iv) the existence of a general feeling of uncertainty caused by tensions between the landowning class with their allies on one hand, and the masses discontented with the poor socio-economic conditions of their countries on the other.

Baran concludes that in such situations the capitalists and other people in possession of money will be reluctant to invest. This point is elaborated in Baran's own words:

> In such a climate there is no will to invest on the part of monied people... there is no enthusiasm for long-term projects; ... the motto of all participants in the privileges offered by society is corpa diem?[20]

Long term economic development is therefore hindered.

To solve the problem, according to Baran, governments of Third World Countries must control their economic activities. But he suggests that in order for these countries to succeed in social and economic growth "the political framework of their existence has to be dramatically revamped."[21]

The theories of development so far reviewed present the passivistic and activistic orientations. It will be unrealistic to view the two orientations as mutually exclusive. In actual life situations the passive may go together with the active. In the same way some of the theories of development suggest a combination of the two orientations - the passivistic and the activistic. This type of orientation will be briefly reviewed in the following section.

3. Passivistic-Activistic Oriented Theories of Development

Development theories with both the passivistic and activistic elements tend to view the process as a consequence of man's actions but at the same time they suggest the existence of societal forces which tend to limit the extent of man's active involvement in development. Such an orientation is clearly seen in Marx's writings on the development of societies.

(a) Karl Marx's View

Marx's view of the nature of societies and, in some sense, the development of societies is clearly activistic in orientation. Marx saw societies, throughout written history, as being characterized by a struggle between classes. The conflict was essentially between the owners of property e.g. land and capital, and those who owned no property.

> The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf ... in a word, oppressor and oppressed - stood in opposition to each other.[22]

The development of new social systems was a result of the destruction of the old system by the oppressed class. The capitalist society, for instance, rose through the capitalist class destroying the feudal social system. Similarly the socialist society would develop through the destruction of the capitalist system by the workers. In Marx's view, the "proletariat, by forcibly overthrowing the bourgeoisie, establishes its own dominion."[23]

The only social system that would evolve without the struggle characteristic of the other stages is the communist society. The reason for the absence of struggle in that stage is that the socialist society, from which the communist system develops, will have no classes, and classes and class interests are seen to be the basis of conflict. This point is clearly brought out in the following quotation:

> When the proletariat in the course of its fight against the bourgeoisie, necessarily consolidates itself into a class, b- means of a revolution makes itself the ruling class ... it therewith sweeps away the system

> upon which class conflicts depend, makes an end of classes, and thus abolishes its own rule as a class.[24]

From this review of Marx's ideas about the development of societies, one notices man's active role in development. Yet Marx prescribes stages through which societies inevitably pass in their development process as seen in the above account. In this way Marx suggests that man's ability and contribution in development is limited. Specifically, man will not direct change according to this view. Hence feudal or communal socio-economic systems will have to be capitalist before they become socialist systems.

This implies that Third World Countries which are striving to create socialist systems are doomed to fail because they have not yet gone through the capitalist stage. Tanzania's development policy, as will be shown later, defies Marx's suggestion since it aims at creating a socialist state, bypassing the capitalist stage.

4. Generalizations

From the review of the models of development presented above, one can make a few generalizations.

(a) Models are conceptualizations of reality. They are generally far from reality. As such they are not easily amenable to application. Yet it is a fact that some models are farther removed from reality than others. Such models therefore cannot be used as a guide in solving concrete problems. The passivistic models of development seem to fall in this category.

(b) Activistic models of development being much closer to reality than the passivistic models remain of interest to this study.

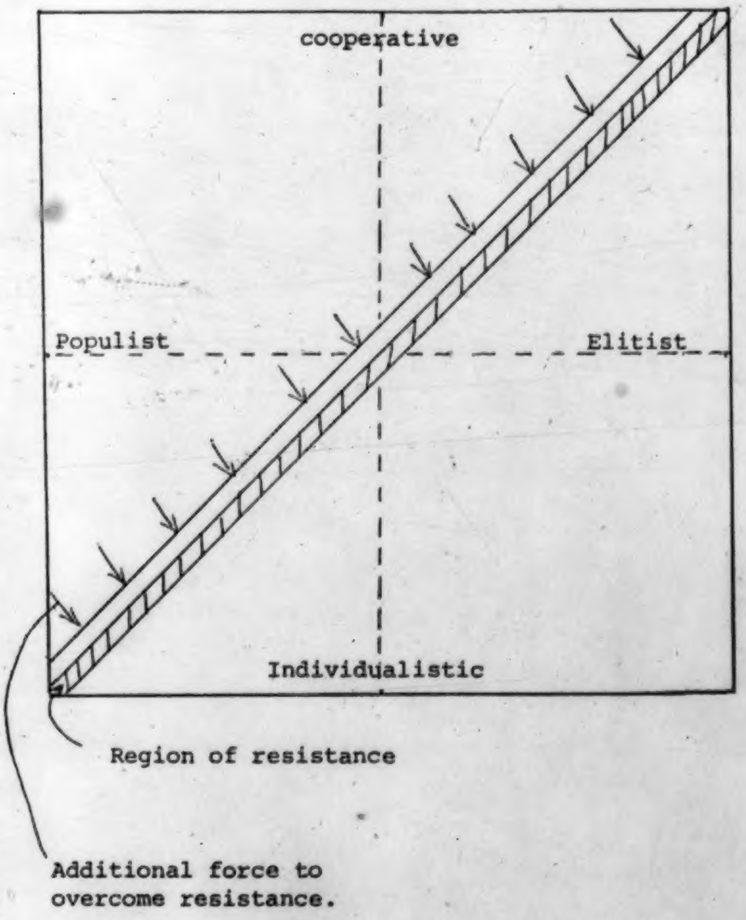
(c) From the activistic models it is possible to identify pairs which are opposites and those that are similar and perhaps complementary. Pairs of opposites are elitist - populist and individualistic - cooperative. Pairs of similarities,on the other hand,are elitist-individualistic and populist-cooperative (Fig. 1). This way of combining the models is a broad generalization since it appears possible to combine the populist-cooperative-elitist elements as demonstrated by The People's Republic of China where the Communist Party membership is for only "the advanced elements of the proletariat,"[25] and the Communist Party is the vanguard of the revolution yet the workers and peasants participate in decision-making through local congresses. Thus the overruling principle is democracy and centralism.

Similarly it is possible to include cooperative elements in the elitist-individualistic model. State-ownership of some means of production in capitalist societies is an example of this.

(d) The colonial model of development was an elitist-individualistic model. Most developing countries of the Third World inherited,on their achievement of independence,the elitist-individualistic structure of development. While many of these countries still maintain the structure, a few are attempting to change it more in line with a cooperative model.

(e) The move from the elitist-individualistic to the populist-cooperative model involves essentially a loss of the old elements and an accomodation of the new ones. Some elements may vanish or others accomodated, much more quickly than others. While some elements may easily disappear others may resist efforts at change. For

Fig. 1. Approaches to development and process of change from one model to another.


cooperative
Populist
Elitist
Individualistic
Region of resistance
Additional force to overcome resistance.

example, the elites and capitalist entrepreneurs may be prepared to sacrifice some of their life-styles but may resist giving up some of their vested interests. Similarly, the masses may appreciate the idea of getting government assistance in increasing the farmers' agricultural output and may therefore be willing to live with others in larger settlement units but they may not be prepared to work on a cooperative basis especially if it means sacrificing some of their special personal interests and old values.

In addition the idea of mass participation in decision-making may be partly acceptable to the masses because of the freedom implied in the notion but may not be practised because of the masses being unprepared for it perhaps owing to the lack of know-how or simply the novelty of the practice.

(f) Some of these problems will be solved by a change in the structure of the social system such as the reward structure of the society and decision-making institutions but others will be solved through political socialization and education. For effective solutions to these problems, however, action must be taken on all fronts.

(g) Having made these generalizations, we may look at Tanzania's development policy in order to see how the above principles apply.

B. Tanzania's Concept of "Development"

The most common definition of "development" emphasizes the economic aspects. Economists talk about a developed nation in terms of such economic indices as a high gross domestic product, a large balance of payment, high-level capital investment, a high income per capita and such other economist jargon. Underdevelopment is measured by the same instruments and stages of development are worked out in similar terms.

Under such a definition, little mention, if any, is made in connection with social relations. Questions of class formation, exploitation, imperialism or socialism and its underlying principles are not given serious thought. Development, as Rodney critically notes, "becomes simply a matter of combination of given factors of production: namely land, population, capital, technology, specialization, and large-scale production."[26]

Tanzania's concept of development is somewhat different from that which is suggested by most capitalist-oriented economists in that it tends to lay a greater emphasis on the non-economic aspects of development than it does on the economic ones. Development is seen as the attainment of greater equality, opportunity and capacity for self-determination, and improvement in the socio-economic well-being of all the people. An increase in incomes is regarded as important only in so far as it facilitates the attainment of those goals. This point comes out quite clearly in President Nyerere's statement which follows:

> Inherent in the Arusha Declaration ... is a rejection ... of material wealth for its own sake ... that there are more important things in life than the amassing of riches, and that if the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality, then the latter will be given priority.[27]

It is important to note that Tanzania's leadership do not underrate the importance of increasing economic production. The leaders do acknowledge that the well-being of their people will come about through efforts in raising agricultural and industrial output and that such output will bring about more food and more money with which to meet some of the people's basic needs. In connection with this point the Party has this to say: "Only by increasing production ... can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian."[28]

This way of looking at development by Tanzania's leaders was demonstrated in TANU's declaration of the policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance in 1967, but it had also been shown in various Government actions before 1967. For example, the leaders' concern for the well-being of the broad population is seen in the Government's plan over the 1964-1969 period to establish sixty-nine village rural settlements and to spend 13.5 per cent of the national budget on those projects[29] in the hope that the settlements would alleviate population pressures in some areas and that they would serve as examples of agricultural improvement for the neighbouring villages.[30]

The Government's preparedness to forfeit foreign aid in favour of upholding national decisions that tended to safeguard Tanzania's right for self-determination and sovereignty is another example reflecting the leadership's concept of national development. In December 1965, Tanzania broke off diplomatic relations with Britain because of Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence, and in retaliation, Britain froze a promised 7.5 million pounds loan to Tanzania. Almost in the same period West Germany withdrew all her aid because of Tanzania's decision to establish trade relations with East Germany, and Tanzania accepted West Germany's action and its consequences.

The end of 1966 witnessed yet another action by Tanzania's leaders which suggested their notion of development as being tied up with egalitarianism. The national leaders had decided that young men and women with advanced educational training should go through a two-year National Service period during which they would get paramilitary training and contribute 60 per cent of their salary to the Government. The protest by students of the University College Dar-es-Salaam and other higher educational institutions led to two events. First, over 300 University students were expelled from school and second the President ordered a 10 per cent salary-cut for all the high and middle-level civil servants, the President's own salary having been reduced by 20 per cent.

Undoubtedly the above events may have posed a challenge on the leaders' stance as regards the approach to national development. For instance the shortage of foreign capital which meant an under-achievement of the First Five Year Plan (1964-1969) targets and the expulsion of the University students even though almost all were re-instated a year later which meant a delay in the anticipated attainment of self-sufficiency in high-level personnel by 1980 may have raised among some leaders fears of loosing public confidence. Yet the same events tended to teach the leadership certain lessons and suggested new solutions to development problems. For example, one of the lessons which the above happenings taught the leadership was that national development for Tanzania would not come unless dependence on foreign aid was abandoned. A closely related lesson was that development would come through maximum utilization of the land and a full mobilization of local labour, and that the initiative in development should come from the people themselves rather than from the Government.

In order to evoke the initiative of all the people in development tasks, however, it was important that the following be done: First, the reward structure be modified such that all benefitted fairly from their efforts and second, it should be Government's policy that the masses participate in decision-making. The rationale behind emphasizing active mass involvement in national development and the need for change in the reward structure of the society is clearly seen in President Nyerere's own words:

> In a country like ours, development depends primarily on the efforts and hard work of our own people, and on their enthusiasm and belief that they and their country will benefit from whatever they do. How could anyone expect this enthusiasm and hard work to be forthcoming if the masses see that a few individuals in the society get very rich and live in great comfort, while the majority continue apparently for ever in abject poverty ? If the people do not have reason to believe that the object of their government is the well-being of the people as a whole why should they be expected to cooperate with that government in its activities.[31]

Although actions towards the attainment of the goals of development as conceived by the national leaders had been taken before 1967, it was in fact after the Arusha Declaration, made public in February 1967, that more drastic actions were taken by the leadership towards that direction. The policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance tended to justify the measures so taken and to rally the efforts of the masses at national development.

In order to appreciate the problems of Tanzania's implementation of the development policies along egalitarian principles, one needs to know that Tanzania had been under colonial rule for over forty years, attaining her independence in 1961, and that the colonial mode of development was essentially capitalist and elitist. So that at independence Tanzania inherited a socio-economic system with social stratification characteristic of a pyramid, with essentially economically based strata - the people at the top and who were in the modern sector of the economy being economically better off than those at the bottom who were usually in the traditional sector. In addition those at the top were essentially the decision-makers, and the masses only the implementers. Further, Tanzania was left in abject poverty, the per capita income being only about fifty dollars, while at the same time continuing to be an export enclave of and therefore economically dependent on the metropolitan power. Despite these facts, Tanzania was committed to improve the well-being of all her people through self-reliance and egalitarianism.

1. The Policies of Socialiam and Self-Reliance

The policies of Socialiam and Self-Reliance, contained in TANU's document The Arusha Declaration were made public on 5 February 1967. The two policies are intimately linked though they seem to emphasize different things.

The policy of Socialism stresses equality as suggested in the following quote:

> A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers ... every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent.[32]

The equality suggested here seems to be of a "give-and-take" nature. The "give" side meant that every Tanzanian had an obligation to work, while the "take" side meant that every Tanzanian who contributed to national development whether in the modern or traditional was entitled to a fair reward.

Nevertheless whether or not the masses enjoy a fair reward depends on the interests of those in authority. To ensure that those in authority represent the interests of the masses, they must at least be elected by the masses themselves. The policy of socialism stresses the need for a democratic government. Hence another aspect of the equality which the policy emphasizes is political participation. This is made clear in the following quotation:

> For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves.[33]

Central to the policy of Self-Reliance is also the idea that national development will be brought about by a maximum utilization of the resources within the country. The policy spells out Tanzania's resources as being the labour force, the land, exemplary leadership, and useful policies.[34] Self-Reliance has an additional meaning. At the level of individuals, it means self-help and individual initiative.

The implementation of such policies demanded a choice of strategies that would ensure at least the following:

a) all the resources were to be utilized to the maximum

b) all Tanzanians worked

c) all who worked got a fair reward and

d) all participated in decision-making.

2. Development Strategies

Tanzania's development policy gives priority to the improvement of the traditional sector of the economy and regards agriculture as the mainstay of the economy. The Second Five Year Plan brings out this point very clearly when it states that "the basis for our development... must be agriculture."[35]

To bring about the improvement of the traditional sector, Tanzania adopted a number of strategies most important of which were

(a) an increase in the allocation of government resources for the rural areas, making them socially more attractive and economically more productive;

(b) a reduction in income inequalities;

(c) mobilizing the rural labour force into collective or cooperative production units; and

(d) reforming the educational system so that education provides the youth with skills and values useful in improving the production of the rural areas and the general life of the rural population.

(a) Increase in the Allocation of Government Resources

In the Second Five Year Plan the Government committed itself to invest as much of the resources as possible in rural development. Such investment was to be in terms of extension services, educational and medical facilities, and better water supplies.[36] This commitment led to an increase in the share of the Government's capital and recurrent expenditure for the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives, and the Second Five Year Plan allocated 23.1 per cent of the total expenditure to the same Ministry.[37] This figure was more than double that aimed at in the previous Development Plan.[38]

(b) Reduction of Inequalities in Incomes and Privileges

The policy undertook to minimize income inequalities and to effect a more equitable income distribution through various ways. Some of the major ones were (a) the reduction in the salaries of higher civil servants and politicians (this was done in 1966); (b) separating leadership in political and civil service from private entrepreneurship by making it a moral and legal offense for people in such high positions to have two sources of income; (c) revising the terms of service in parastatal organizations such that there was uniformity in the terms of service throughout the public sector; (d) setting a limit to wage increases per year, again as a control in the growth of income disparities; (e) exercising price controls so that the price level for consumer goods was uniform throughout the country.

It is important to note that the nationalization of major means of production and exchange was undertaken in 1967. This measure had a number of advantages relevant to the policy of income re-distribution. One advantage was that it was possible for the Government to control the investment of the surplus accruing from industrial production, and utilize the investments in accordance with the national priorities - the traditional sector being at the top of the list. Another advantage was that the nationalization ensured the Government's control over the salaries and wages of the majority of the workers, facilitating easier income adjustments.

(c) Mobilization of the rural labour force

Tanzania's policy aimed at mobilizing the rural population into cooperative productive units, as the Second Five-Year Plan clearly states "The Plan emphasises the development of forms of economic activity which encourage collective and cooperative efforts and avoid wide differences of wealth and income."[39]

The economic units so organised were to be as self-reliant as possible. This meant that Government, with its limited resources, would give assistance only after the units had demonstrated an amount of self help in the community projects undertaken. President Nyerere's statement on the features of the communities lays emphasis on self-help, thus "The basis of ujamaa village organization is, and must be, self-help and self-reliance."[40] This meant that the economic units were to be not only collective or cooperative, or socialist units in which inequalities in incomes were minimal - hence their being referred to as ujamaa (socialist) villages - but they were to be also self-reliant.

Many advantages were envisaged by the leadership as accruing from this form of organization. Firstly, it was hoped that advantages of large-scale production would be attained. Secondly, the units would facilitate easy provision of extension services, water supplies, and educational as well as health services. Thirdly, it was hoped that exploitation and social injustices would be easily curbed. Fourthly, ujamaa villages would provide an opportunity for an exercise in grassroot participation in decision-making. The extent to which the anticipated advantages of ujamaa villages have been attained is a question for research.

(d) Reforming the Educational System

The policy statement on education stressed the need for providing opportunities for basic education to a larger number of the school-age children. This was considered necessary not only as a principle of equality of opportunities in the field of education, but it was also deemed a necessary tool for more active, conscious participation by the masses in the social, political and economic activities of the country.

Yet owing to financial constraints Tanzania was not going to achieve the goal for a long time unless some structural changes were made in the educational system and in the society at large. Some of the changes were made soon after her political independence. These included, inter alia, the introduction of an integrated system of education in which racial differences were not to be a criteria for access to educational opportunities. In addition, the boarding school system was phased out, and the length of primary education course reduced to seven years. In this way certain costs were reduced.

But perhaps more fundamental changes came after the Arusha Declaration in 1967. The increasing awareness among the national leaders about Tanzania's socio-economic constraints led to the introduction of educational changes which stressed perhaps more than ever before the need for schools to contribute to national development. Educational institutions in general had to do two things:

a) train people who were going to be useful in the development, especially of the traditional sector. Primary schools had to provide the youth with attitudes and practices useful for farming and for a healthy life in the rural areas. Higher educational institutions had to produce people who would be farmers or workers in the modern sector but in relation to rural development. Secondary Schools for example, "must prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of this country."[41]

b) engage in productive activities so as to alleviate the government's financial burden in running the schools. As President Nyerere points out " ... secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep."[42]

Regarding primary education about which this study is concerned, the Second Five-Year Plan proposed that the curriculum would be changed such that it provided the basic training required for life essentially in a rural economy.[43]

In terms of our model, the increase in the government's capital and recurrent expenditure on rural development, the reduction of income inequalities and of class privileges, the ujamaa villagization in the rural areas and the reform of the educational system are intended to be forces which will "destroy" the resisting forces of the old social system - the elitist, competitive individualistic one. It is important to note that it is the combination of many "destroying" forces that will ensure the destruction of the old system, and that education is only one of the forces.

(e) Conclusion

The above review has shown that the models of development that/tend to underrate man's capacity to instigate and direct change are not of much use to developing countries - in this sense all modern nations. The activistic models on the other hand are much more useful. These have been broadly categorized as being elitist-individualistic, and populist-collective; and it has been observed that Tanzania, like a few other Third World Countries, is attempting to move from the elitist-individualistic model to the populist-collective one. In addition, it is attempting to transform the society from poverty and economic dependence to prosperity and independence.

Such transformation as seen in the Tanzanian case is complex and involved, for it means a struggle against resistance caused by vested interests and tradition. It also means the need to motivate people into involvement in development activities through instigating an awareness into the constraints and potentials of the nation and by changing the reward structure of the society so that all who contribute to national development should have a fair reward.

Tanzania it has been shown, has attempted some structural, ideological,and educational changes in this direction. The effects of some of the changes have yet to be evaluated. However, it seems reasonable to assume that Tanzania will still have a lot to do to bring about the envisaged prosperity through the populist-collective approach since changes of this magnitude normally take years before the results can be seen, and since only seven years have elapsed from the declaration of the new policies. Specifically Tanzania needs to continue to struggle to overcome

a) vested interests especially of some of the elite.
b) traditions of the masses which may hinder their full participation in development tasks.
c) the lack of skills - literacy, and agricultural - which may be a setback in the national efforts at increasing production.
d) problems of communication between the leadership and the masses.
e) resistance of institutions such as the rigid hierarchical bureaucracy.
f) inequalities in incomes and privileges.

In the light of these problems and with the application of some of the theories of development discussed earlier in the chapter and which are relevant to Tanzania, it seems that, in addition to structural changes such as those in income distribution, resource allocations, decision-making institutions and trade patterns, Tanzania's success in the struggle in bringing about prosperity the egalitarian way will depend on the quality of her people. That is, the people in Tanzania must be in possession of certain attitudes and practices which this study considers as so important for national development of a populist-cooperative kind. Some of the most important of such qualities or "elements" are a) awareness, b) activity, c) self-help, d) cooperation. The significance of these elements can be summarized as follows:

a) Awareness: This is significant in that it facilitates effective participation in and can be a source of motivation for action. In terms of education it means that skills and attitudes of balanced thinking and problem solving must be inculcated.

b) Activity: This is an important condition in the struggle against poverty and dependence. People have to work for wealth and livelihood. Education will therefore have the responsibility of inculcating attitudes to work and providing skills which should be used to bring about prosperity.

c) Self-Reliance: In order to get rid of dependence one needs to learn to be independent. Awareness of problems and potentials does not make one self reliant in attitude and practice. The desire to work and the knowledge of a skill may help man to be self reliant, but even they are by themselves insufficient. Man needs training in independent thinking as well as in independent work. This is a basic condition even for cooperative activity: that each participant must be able to make an individual contribution to the community to which he belongs.

d) Cooperation: Self-reliance though basic to cooperation, may lead to competitive individualistic behaviour unless one is trained to be self-reliant in the context of cooperation. Cooperation like self-reliance demands an inculcation of certain supporting skills and attitudes. One needs to know how to work with others in a productive way. There is the need to know how to participate in decision-making, to implement decisions, and to evaluate the implementation. In addition to the know-how, one needs to practice cooperation. In this way one tends to develop a positive attitude towards cooperative action.

The above are important elements which education must aim at achieving if it will contribute, to a reasonable extent, to the solution of problems of national development - of bringing about prosperity and economic independence and of creating a populist cooperative system of development from an essentially elitist-individualistic one. As will be shown in the next chapter, those elements are basic to Tanzania's policy of education and provide the focus of the evaluation of the Kwamsisi Project.

Footnotes

1. Auguste Comte, Early Essays on Social Philosophy, trans. Henry Dix Hutton (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1911), p. 147.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

3. Comte's assessment of the capitalist industrial system is clearly positive, as shown in this quote: "Such is the admirable character of industrial combinations that all participants are in fact coworkers and partners, from the humblest workman to the richest manufacturer and the ablest engineer." Ibid., p. 77.

4. S.N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 1.

5. Andre Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 27.

6. John Kunkel, Society and Economic Growth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 283.

7. W.W. Rostow, "The Take-off Into Self-Sustained Growth," The Economic Journal 66 (March 1966): 33-48.

8. D.C. Somervell, A Study of History 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946): p. 215.

9. Ibid.

10. Don Martindale, Social Life and Cultural Change (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), p. 54.

11. Ibid., p. 58.

12. Edward Shils, The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation (The Hague: Mouton & Co. Publishers, 1961), p. 13.

13. C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), Ch. 2.

14. Judith G. Goode, "Responses of a Traditional Elite to Modernization: Lawyers in Colombia," Human Organization 29 (Spring, 1970): 70-80.

15. Poverty in Canada, A Report of the Special Senate Committee, 1971, p. 38.

16. C. Wright Mills, op.cit., p. 267. Note that Marx said the same words.

17. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Herder and Herder, 1972), p. 40.

18. Ibid., p. 52.

19. Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), p. 148.

20. Paul Baran, "On the Political Economy of Backwardness," p. 234., a paper reprinted from *The Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies*, 20 (January 1958): 66-84.

21. Ibid., p. 238.

22. D. Ryazanoff, ed., *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963), p. 25.

23. Ibid., p. 40.

24. Ibid., p. 53.

25. Chapter One of the New Constitution of the Communist Party of China April 1969 in Winberg Chai (ed.) *Essential Works of Chinese Communism* rev. ed. (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1972), p. 431.

26. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dares Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), p. 20.

27. J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa* (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 316.

28. Ibid., p. 244.

29. John R. Nellis, *A Theory of Ideology, The Tanzanian Example* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 138 quoting Peter Landell-Mills "Village Settlement in Tanzania: An Economic Commentary." Dares-Salaam, unpublished paper, 1965.

30. The undertaking turned out to be very expensive. The settlements used too much capital, and demanded too much technical manpower. These demands tended to limit the possibilities of a large-scale rural improvement.

31. Ibid., p. 198.

32. J. K. Nyerere, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

33. Ibid., p. 234.

34. Ibid., p. 243.

35. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Second Five Year Plan* 1 : xiv.

36. Ibid., p. xvii.

37. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Tanzania Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-74*, 2 (Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1969): 10.

38. Ibid., p. 2.

39. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Second Five-Year Plan* 1: 1.

40. Ibid., p. xvii.

41. J. K. Nyerere, *op.cit.*, p. 281.

42. Ibid., p. 283.

43. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Second Five-Year Plan* 1: 150.

CHAPTER THREE

TANZANIA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

This chapter attempts (a) to summarize Tanzania's national development policy and the assumed role of education in these plans for development. (b) to analyse Tanzania's educational policy in order to identify its major features and (c) to examine the consistency of the educational policy with the overall national development policy.

A The Development Policy and the Role of Education

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the goal of Tanzania's development was the improvement of the well-being of all her people especially in what may be considered as the basic needs. Increasing the productivity of the traditional sector was probably the most important strategy chosen by the leadership in the efforts to achieve the above goals. The increase in agricultural production was to be attained through a maximum utilization of the labour force and the existing resources in the country. At the same time more financial resources were to be provided for rural development and education was to be used as an important supportive instrument of development in both the traditional and modern sectors of the economy.

In relation to the traditional sector, education was to be used to improve the quality of the people who would be involved in its development by providing them with the skills and attitudes which are felt by the leadership to be basic for life in the rural areas. This way of looking at education suggested the need for a serious re-examination and change of the existing educational system.

The details of this educational change were the subject matter of the Education for Self-Reliance (EFSR) policy issued by President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere in March 1967. Because EFSR policy provides the basis of the new educational system in general and in particular the Kwamsisi Project about which this study is concerned, it is considered important that a look be attempted at its contents and its congruence with the national policy.

B The Educational Policy

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance starts with the premise that education is an instrument which has to serve the interests of a given society. In particular education is supposed to inculcate into the young men and women the predispositions and practices of the given society which are considered necessary for the society's maintenance or change. On this point President Nyerere notes:

> That purpose (of education) is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.[1]

From the premise the policy then looks at the educational system during Tanzania's colonial and post-independence days at least up to 1967; compares the provisions of education with the aspirations of an independent, socialist society; identifies the faults in the educational system and finally suggests methods of rectifying the errors. On colonial education the policy statement notes that the education provided in Tanzania essentially served the interests of the colonial power in that it inculcated the values of subservience and inequalities especially in the economic sphere. The policy emphatically states:

> ... colonial education induced attitudes of human inequalities, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field .... It was ... part of a deliberate attempt ... to make it into a colonial society which accepted its status and which was an efficient adjunct to the governing power.[2]

Such criticisms find justifications in the fact that the colonial rulers' basic interests were domination and economic exploitation as Lord Lugard, one of the most "outstanding" colonial rulers in British Tropical Africa remarks.

> As Roman imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization, and led the wild barbarians of these islands (Britain) along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth - the abode of barbarism and cruelty - the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilisation ... we hold these countries because it is the genius of our race to colonise, to trade, and to govern.[3] (the underlining is the writer's).

In view of such interests, therefore, the colonialists would not have consciously introduced educational systems that would challenge their suzerainty. In fact, according to them, they had an obligation to ensure that domination and economic exploitation were maintained, and that is what they did.

Some of the strategies the colonial rulers employed in perpetuating domination were as follows:

a) they divided the people in Tanzania, as in other colonies under their rule, into groups - between races, between the masses and their rulers, and between the masses and the educated within the society - and gave them differential treatment such that some had more privileges than others and in most cases the masses were the under-privileged. The privileged few were regarded as a buffer against the masses who, the rulers feared, might challenge the regime.

b) the privileged group was kept to a minimum size to ward off the danger of their overpowering the regime, and the possibility of bringing to an end the colonial suzerainty over the territory.

c) to protect the interests of the rulers in policy decision-making, the colonial power minimized representation from the masses and from the local elite in decision-making institutions.

d) the rulers finally emphasized discipline and made the police, army and the judiciary powerful in order to attain that goal. The people were supposed to obey orders without questioning. A common saying among the Wabena[4] which reflects their humble attitude towards authority of the colonial type goes like this: "Tuhombage yi-kodi" (literary meaning "Let us just pay the tax" that the ruler demands and we will be left un-bothered). The wider meaning of the statement was that as a subject you were not supposed to argue with your ruler because by arguing you would be seeking trouble from your superior. The same kind of attitude was being inculcated in schools where the pupils were not expected to defend themselves against accusations by their teachers or fellow superior pupils.

In order to attain their economic goals, the colonial regime encouraged the production of raw materials for export to the metropoles, such as coffee, tea, sisal, and cotton. Such crops were grown both in large plantations managed by the White settlers and in small holdings usually by the Africans. The bulk of the African population was engaged in the production of essentially food crops. The generally low prices of the agricultural products and the relatively higher prices of the manufactured goods made agriculture, especially the small-holding type, become less attractive than work in the modern sector and the colonial rulers took no action in reducing the gap between the reward of the modern sector and that of the traditional sector. It is therefore not surprising that the Africans during Tanzania's colonial days rejected the provision of agricultural education in schools and demanded literary education which gave the individual the opportunity to enter higher educational institutions from which one almost certainly entered the modern sector which in turn provided a better reward.

On post-independence education, the policy notes that it was essentially ~~based on the~~ colonial structure despite the few modifications which were made soon after Tanzania attained political independence. For this reason the education provided even then was incongruent with the aspirations of the Tanzanian society. Three points of weakness of post-independence educational system are identified by the policy. First, education was oriented towards benefitting a few people.

> ...the most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically elitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system.[5]

The criteria used for selecting and organizing curriculum content, as well as evaluating students' performance also came in for sharp criticism. The policy statement asserts that in both the selection and organization of content and evaluation, the educators' interest had been in the few learners who would eventually enter the modern sector. It should be remembered that although the new educational policy did not neglect the modern sector as a development strategy, the policy did lay a greater emphasis on the preparation of people for the traditional sector.

Secondly, education was not related to the problems of rural life. According to the policy, the curriculum was academic and removed from local realities. Further, the organization of schools was such that the pupils were for a long time isolated from their home environments. In this way, the policy notes, "Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for."[6] This trend in education had led many people to believe that the hard life that the majority of the people live was not for the "educated".

It is important to note that since 1960, agricultural and crafts education in primary schools was abandoned. This was as a result of the many criticisms from the Africans who complained that such education was given only to African children and not to the European and Asian children, indicating that education reflected racism. They also complained that agriculture was poorly taught, as such it tended to waste the children's valuable time. Another major reason for rejecting agricultural education was that the economic prospects of agricultural knowledge were dull as compared to those of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy.

Thirdly, education was too bookish and tended to create a strong value in book-knowledge, examinations and certificates. This in turn created intellectual arrogance and social stratification based on educational achievement. Eventually, according to the policy, education led the "educated" people to despise agriculture, the backbone of Tanzania's economy.

Finally, the existing educational structure was such that it made it impossible for the students to engage in economically productive work during the school session or school vacation. School terms started during the seasons when pupils were expected to help their parents with cultivation. Further while in school the pupils were engaged in the acquisition of academic knowledge without being involved in such activities as agriculture and crafts which would bring an income to the school and relieve the parents or the government of some financial burden. In this way the pupils simply consumed the national resources and never made any immediate contribution to the national production. This point is brought out quite clearly in the following quote:

> Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of the older and often weaker people....[7]

President Nyerere's criticisms of both the colonial and post-independence education as being inconsistent with the national needs were based on the development aspirations of the Tanzanian society as defined by the national party, TANU, and which are embodied in the policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance. Among the important aspects of these aspirations are the following:

(a) Tanzania's intention is to create a socialist society on the basis of three principles:

(i) the value of equality and respect for human dignity;

(ii) the sharing of the products of development; and

(iii) the sharing of the responsibility to work.

(b) In Tanzania's development, the emphasis will be on "the equality of all her citizens."

(c) Tanzania's development will be based on the consideration of the country's constraints and potentials, the constraints being the lack of adequate capital and skilled manpower, and the potentials being the availability of land and semi-skilled or unskilled labour.

(d) Tanzania will therefore focus its development efforts on making the rural area more productive and more attractive.

(e) The improvement of the rural area will be realized by fully utilizing the land and the available labour and the people will need to work hard, intelligently and cooperatively.[8]

In order to remove the incongruency between the societal aspirations and the educational system it was imperative that the latter undergo significant changes. It should be noted that in order to achieve the goals which the party set it was necessary that not only education but also other aspects of the social structure - the reward system, the decision-making institutions, etc., - be changed and EFSR does not overlook this point when it states:

> This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by ... the total environment in which a child develops.[9]

Regarding the change in the educational aspect, the policy suggests a change in the aims of education and the educational strategies.

The educational aims should include the following:

(a) The social aim: this had to emphasize the development of positive attitudes towards collective life. "It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good."[10]

(b) The economic aim: this was supposed to stress the preparation of the youth as good farmers. "It must ... prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in ... a rural society where improvement will depend largely upon the efforts of the people in agriculture ...."[11]

(c) The political aim: this had to lay emphasis on the need to prepare people for participation in decision-making on matters that concern them. This point is suggested in this quote: "They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgements on all the issues affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society ...."[12]

(d) The psychological aim: this had to stress the development of individuals' capacities of enquiry, creativity, and self-confidence. "Thus education has to foster in each citizen the development of three things; an enquiring mind, an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt to his own needs; and a basic confidence ... as a free and equal member of the society...."[13]

Concerning the educational strategies the policy proposed changes in three aspects namely, curriculum content, children's school-entry age, and organization of schools. Curriculum content was to be revised such that it was geared to the problems of the rural sector since this was the major thrust of the development policy. Primary education had to prepare the youth for the improvement of rural life through farming.

> We should determine the type of things taught in our primary schools by the things ... the boy or girl ought to know - the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society....[14]

Secondary education had to train people who could either live in rural areas as farmers or be employed in the modern sector but who could provide expertise related to the problems of the rural sector. Post-secondary education needed to train people in special skills and ideas for use in the solution of problems of development with an emphasis on the traditional sector. On evaluation of student performance the policy criticized the examination system which tended to assess the pupils' cognitive aspect only, and suggested that the evaluation of students' attitudes towards the community was also important. EFSR policy did not seek to get rid of examinations rather it proposed a de-emphasis in their value.

Even though the policy does not specifically mention the involvement of the masses in the changes of the curriculum content, it does indicate the need to respect "traditional knowledge and wisdom" and utilize the "good local farmers as supervisors and teachers of particular aspects of work."[15]

Delayed school-entry age is another aspect for change. The policy observes that children entered school when they were still physically pre-mature to engage in economic production. The entry age in the existing system was five to six years and this was to be raised to seven years and above, so that at the end of their primary education the pupils would be about fourteen or more years old and therefore old enough to be involved in the economic activities of their communities.

In connection with the change in the organization of schools EFSR policy suggests three things:

(a) All educational institutions are supposed to be communities practising cooperation.

> Schools must become communities ... The teachers, workers, and pupils together nust be the members of a social unit.[16]

(b) Schools must be self-reliant communities, in practice. That is, they must be economically productive and economically independent.

> the (school) community must realize ... that their life and well-being is dependent upon the production of wealth ... This means that all schools ... must contribute to their own upkeep.[17]

It should be noted that the policy does not envisage the establishment of "vocational", primary or secondary schools where students would simply learn a trade. Rather it proposes a form of education which, while providing the basic literacy skills, is not detached from the realities of rural life. President Nyerere makes his position clear about this form of education when he states:

> This is not a suggestion that a school farm or workshop should be attached to every school for training purposes. It is a suggestion that every school should also be a farm ... the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers.[18]

(c) The pupils must participate in making decisions on problems related to the economic activities in which they are involved. The policy stresses, "Pupils should be given an opportunity to make many of the decisions necessary ... although guidance must be given by the school authorities ... the pupils must be able to participate in decisions and learn by mistakes."[19]

The policy acknowledges the problem which might face primary schools as they practise economic self-reliance. The pupils in those schools are generally too young to engage in significant economic activities. This being the case, the policy suggests, primary schools should be intimately linked with their local community. They "should be thoroughly integrated into the village life. The pupils must remain an integral part of the family (or community) economic unit."[20]

From the preceding description of school-community relationship it may appear as if the link is a strategy only for attaining economic self-reliance by primary schools. The strategy, in fact, is also supposed to remove the barrier that existed between the school and the community. The policy suggests that integration has to be established with the conscious intention of "making the children realise that they are being educated by the community in order that they shall become intelligent and active members of the community."[21] This is a new direction because prior to 1967, the responsibility of educating the children was entirely the teachers'.

The EFSR policy finally indicates an awareness of the need for drastic changes in the organization of the educational system. In particular the policy points out the need to change the examination system and school terms in order to attain the set goals of education.

In summary, the EFSR policy presents a view that education has a role to play in the development of society. In Tanzania the role of education is to provide the skills and values which are instrumental in increasing the productivity of the traditional sector and which facilitate more healthy living, successful cooperation in the social and economic activities, effective grassroot participation in decision making, and the development of individuals' aptitudes of independent thinking and action so vital for both the individuals and their community. For the attainment of such aims curriculum revision and school reorganisation were considered necessary.

C The consistency of the EFSR policy with the national development policy

In looking at the congruence of the EFSR policy with the national development policy we will use the activistic, collective (cooperative) and populist concepts discussed in Chapter Two. It will be remembered that Tanzania's development approach was considered as activistic in that it laid a strong emphasis on the active role of man in development, collective because of its belief in development through cooperative rather than competitive, individualistic means, and populist in that it attempted to encourage grassroot-participation in making decisions and implementing them.

1 The activistic aspect of the educational policy

Underlying the activistic concept in development is the view that man must play an active role in shaping his own future and that of his society at large. Ideas that stress the importance of man's independent thinking and action, or the exercise of initiative or self-help are activistic, under this definition.

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that Tanzania's national policy stressed self-reliance in bringing about the well-being of the masses. The emphasis on the maximum use of all the local human and non-human resources and the commitment to the improvement of the traditional sector were seen as evidence of Tanzania's efforts to implement the self-reliance principle, and this was identified as an activistic approach to development.

Tanzania's EFSR policy proposes educational aims and strategies that stress self-reliance. For instance one of the aims proposed is the development of the ability to make independent judgements on matters that concern the individuals. The policy stresses self-reliance not only in the mental but also in the physical realm. It proposes that schools must engage in economic production e.g. farming, craftwork and commerce, and should be economically self-supporting.

Finally EFSR policy proposes a shift in educational orientation from one that emphasizes the modern sector to one that lays greater emphasis on the development of the traditional sector. The move to the land has the advantage of Tanzania's being able to put to greater use the under-utilized land and the under-employed labour force and to increase the purchasing power of the peasant farmers - a strategy towards the creation of a viable internal market. These are all aspects of self-reliance, which has been identified as an activistic orientation to development. Hence EFSR policy is activistic and in this respect it can be considered as consistent with the national policy.

2. The cooperative aspect of the educational policy

The cooperative or collective approach to development emphasizes the importance of cooperative working and the sharing of the outputs in accordance with the amount of inputs.

Tanzania's educational policy makes as one of the major educational aims the encouragement of cooperative endeavour and a stress on the value of living together. The policy proposes that schools should be organized in a way that creates an atmosphere of cooperation just like that of a family, as the following quotation suggests:

> The teachers, workers and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives, and children are the family social unit.[22]

The school-community integration which the policy suggests is another element of the policy's cooperative orientation. According to the policy, schools, and especially primary schools, must work together with their local communities.

> The children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the communities and having the community involved in school activities.[23]

As shown earlier, the national policy proposes the mobilization of the rural population into *ujamaa* villages. In these villages the people would be not only living together but also working collectively and sharing the products of their labour in proportion with the inputs of individual participants.

This shows that there is a correspondence between the national policy and the educational policy, at least in the collective or cooperative aspect.

3. The populist aspect of the educational policy

The idea underlying the populist notion in this study is grassroot participation in decision-making. The populist concept stresses the importance of the participation of the masses in making decisions on matters that concern them. The concept, however, does not ignore participation in the implementation of decisions made either by the masses themselves or their leaders on the prople's behalf.

One of the educational aim which EFSR policy suggests is that schools as they undertake economic production should ensure the active participation of the pupils in making decisions regarding what they intend to do and evaluating what they have done.

> Pupils should be given the opportunity to make many of the decisions necessary - for example, whether to spend money they have earned on hiring a tractor ... or whether to use the money for other purposes on the farm or in the school, and doing the hard work themselves by sheer physical labour.[24]

Similarly, the national policy lays emphasis on the participation of the masses in decision-making especially on matters that affect their lives. For example in the mobilization of the rural labour force the governing principles was to give the people opportunity to decide whether or not to join ujamaa villages. Secondly, the villages once established, the members were to choose their own leaders and make decisions on the economic activities of their communities and similar problems. Further, the villages were to have independent constitutions made by the village members themselves.

The theoretical principles of education as enunciated in EFSR clearly correspond to the overall national policy. There remains only the question - what is the practice ?

D Conclusion

This chapter set out to put in context Tanzania's policy to use education as an investment in national development with an emphasis on the development of the traditional sector. Through the analysis of the features of the educational policy it has been possible to identify what were considered in Chapter Two as necessary elements for the development of a nation committed to transform conditions of poverty and bring about prosperity and also develop a populist and cooperative system from one considerably elitist and individualistic. These elements clearly seen in the policy are self-help, awareness, activity or work, and cooperation.

Finally it has been demonstrated through various examples that the educational policy was consistent with the overall national development policy. However, the clarity of an educational policy and its consistency with the national development policy do not necessarily mean achieving the set goals. There are many forces which can impede the attainment of the set goals. For example, studies in the development of education in the Indian and Metis society in North Saskatchewan demonstrate a failure in giving all the children the best possible educational opportunities and encouraging local participation and responsibility. The failure in this case was caused by the prevailing objective social and economic conditions of the Metis-Indians on the one hand, and by the negative attitudes of the White Canadians towards the Indians, on the other.

Similarly, China's 1958 policy to combine education and labour by establishing middle schools in the rural areas, met with problems.

Some of the major ones were the shortage of teachers, the required equipment and funds, and the poor organization of courses. Most significantly, the innovation met with the disapproval, at least initially, of the students and the masses at large.[25] Again, Gandhi's proposal for a basic education - one based on the view of "educating the child properly through manual work, not as a side activity, but as the prime means of intellectual training" - did not materialize. It was later viewed as retrogressive and anti-developmental especially by upper and middle class parents.[26]

In view of the many forces which tend to militate against the attainment of educational goals, and in consideration of the high costs incurred by poor nations in providing educational opportunities to their fast-growing population, it is considered by the writer as essential that the implementation of educational policies, as it is being attempted in Kwamsisi, should be subjected to an "objective" evaluation.

Footnotes

1. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 268.
2. Ibid., p. 269.
3. Lord Lugard, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, 1922" quoted in Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974), frontspiece page.
4. Wabena is one of the largest tribe in southern Tanzania (2.3 per cent of total population) and had the experience of both the Germans and the British rulers - perhaps more of the Germans since they were involved in the Maji Maji war (1905-8).
5. Nyerere, op.cit., p. 275.
6. Ibid., p. 276.
7. Ibid., p. 278.
8. Ibid., pp. 272-273.
9. Ibid., p. 290.
10. Ibid., p. 273.
11. Ibid., p. 274.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 282.
15. Ibid., p. 283.
16. Ibid., p. 282.
17. Ibid., p. 283.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p. 284.
20. Ibid., p. 287.
21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., p. 282.

23. Ibid., p. 287.

24. Ibid., p. 284.

25. Robert D. Barendsen, Half-Work, Half-Study Schools in Communist China (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 36.

26. Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations 3 (New York: Pantheon, 1968): 1737-1739.

CHAPTER FOUR

KWAMSISI PRIMARY EDUCATIONAL REFORM PROJECT

This chapter attempts to assess the efforts at primary educational reform as experimented in Kwamsisi school in Tanzania. The aim is to see the extent to which the education provided in that school is in line with the goals and objectives of the educational policy. However, before that assessment can be attempted it is important for the sake of clarity that the background to Kwamsisi project, and the account of the project itself be given and finally the setting of the inquiry be presented. After these have been done the analysis of the findings will then be made.

A. Background to Kwamsisi Project

Education for Self-Reliance (EFSR), as pointed out in the preceding chapter, is a policy aiming at adapting education in such a way that it will make a greater contribution to the solution of the social, political, and economic problems of Tanzania. The declaration of the policy in March 1967 was followed by determined efforts by education officials to transform the existing educational system along the principles of that policy.

In the Conference on Education for Self-Reliance[1] convened only a month after the EFSR declaration, 150 education officers attending the conference resolved that, inter alia,

(a) all the teachers be given an orientation on the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance;

(b) the gap between schools and local communities be bridged by schools participating in community activities and involving communities in some school functions;

(c) the school curricula be revised such that

- (i) practical projects are included;
- (ii) political education becomes one of the subjects;
- (iii) primary education is linked with agricultural training;
- (iv) the examination system includes the assessment of the students' character and contribution to community work;

(d) teachers be given refresher courses on the new curriculum.

Following this conference, primary school curriculum was revised and a new syllabus compiled.[2] At the same time the Government launched, in 1969 a primary education reform project. The reform is administered by the Government of Tanzania with the cooperation of the United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Under an agreement between the three parties the Government assumed the responsibility for costs amounting to U.S. $ 5,760,000. The money was to be spent on the re-orientation programmes for in-service teachers - the purpose being to familiarize the teachers with the revised curriculum content and some new teaching approaches - and the supervision and expansion of primary schools.[3] UNICEF's commitments were essentially the provision of equipment and training grants. UNESCO, on the other hand, was to provide technical advice.

There are three parts to this project and they are related. The first part deals with the testing of the effectiveness of the revised school curriculum in primary education following the EFSR policy and the reorientation of in-service primary school teachers particularly in

C and B categories.[4] The second seeks to devise viable methods for teaching younger children especially those attending Standards I and II with the aim of improving infant teaching methods. The third explores the possibility of integrating the primary schools with its local community, by using a certain type of curriculum and a certain kind of school organization. It was in an effort to implement this last part of the educational policy that the experiment known as the Kwamsisi Pilot Project was developed.

B. The Kwamsisi Pilot Project

1. The Purpose of the Project

The main purpose of the project is two-fold and is as follows:

(a) the development of a curriculum that will provide the youth with ideas, skills, and predispositions oriented essentially towards the improvement of the traditional sector of the economy along the principles of Socialism and Self-Reliance.

(b) the experimentation of a school-village integration strategy which it is hoped will facilitate an effective realization of the set education goals summarized in (a) above.

It is important at this juncture to note that the above objectives of the project are not very different from the educational objectives stated during the colonial days. The 1925 Memorandum also known as the Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa called for an adaptation of modern education to local conditions and an emphasis on agriculture as the following quote suggests:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of various people ....[6]

and spelt out the aims of education as being, among others,

> to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture ....[7]

The 1935 Memorandum on the Education for African Communities suggested a full integration of schools into community life so that schools could further the progress of the people through interpreting the current changes in African society and communicating knowledge and skills necessary for improving the life of the community.

These policies were followed by some attempts to implement them by introducing school systems adapted to local situations as in Bukoba, Malangali, Shinyanga and Mwanza, and including agriculture in elementary school curricula. Such attempts, however ended up in a failure. The Africans rejected the provision of that type of education demanding higher levels of education. The reasons for the failure of that kind of education are to be found in the relationship of the interests of the colonial power vis-a-vis the interests and needs of the Africans.

The interests of the colonial power were essentially domination and economic gain. In order to dominate, the colonial power had to silence the people[8] so that they could not challenge the regime. This silence was attained through various means such as the use of security and judiciary institutions - the army, the police and the court; dividing the population into groups and giving them differential treatment usually a few, who acted as buffers between the colonial regime and the masses, got more privileges than the rest in terms of income and status; and finally through schooling by inculcating values of subservience and credulity and by providing an education that would not "remove" the youth from the rest of the masses. A few however were given post-elementary education to man positions in the modern sector necessary for the existence of the bureaucracy which in turn was regarded as important for maintaining the domination and economic exploitation, and to provide the "cushion" between the regime and the masses.

To obtain economic gain, the colonial power ensured that agricultural production was given emphasis. Taxation, school fees, the purchase of manufactured goods such as clothes, which the colonialists introduced, all demanded payment in monetary form and the peasants had to grow enough crops for food and for sale in order to meet such demands. Where the crops failed to provide enough income the men looked for temporary paid jobs in large plantations within the country - plantations owned by capitalist settlers largely from Europe - or went outside the country where there were job opportunities as in South Africa's gold mines. Agricultural education in primary schools was another way which the regime hoped would help achieve their economic goal. It was hoped that the provision of such education would help the school-leavers to engage in agricultural activities and increase agricultural production.

But generally agriculture did not provide enough income to meet the needs of life in a society whose economy was increasingly becoming fully monetized. The modern sector on the other hand provided higher incomes, and since entry to this sector was through the attainment of a special form of education, the Africans in need of a better income, demanded that type of education. Therefore education that led individuals to the traditional sector was rejected and eventually courses in agriculture and animal husbandry were abandoned.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that such events happened in a colonizer-colonized situation in which the interests of the two parties were basically different, the former wanting to dominate and exploit, the latter wanting freedom and equal opportunities. Now that the people have their own government and leadership the situation is supposed to be different. It would be nevertheless an oversimplification of the issue if we looked at change of government and leadership as sufficient conditions for the success of the educational reform attempted in Tanzania. Other forces must be given consideration, and it is hoped that this study will identify such other factors.

It may be useful to note that Kwamsisi is among Tanzania's ujamaa villages that are still not economically well-off. A village with 280 families and a total population of 2,018, Kwamsisi has a land area of about 8,500 acres only 50 per cent of which is used for cultivation and settlements. About 16 per cent is for grazing and the bulk of the remaining land - a lowland area in the river-basin of Luvu (Pangani) and Kimunyu rivers - has been put to no use because it is marshy especially during the rainy season and very dry during the June-September dry season. Further the village has virtually no cash crops. For their income the villagers depend on food crops such as maize and rice-paddy. Currently Kwamsisi is undertaking experiments in the cultivation of some cash crops such as cotton and tobacco but the results of such efforts remain to be seen, and the few cattle and sheep which some of the villagers keep do not seem to bring the owners an income. The milk produced is largely for home consumption.

Kwamsisi villagers, however, seem to have an opportunity to participate in the social, political and economic affairs of their village and the nation at large. There are a number of institutions in Kwamsisi in which the villagers can take part. The major institutions with a village base are the Village Executive Committee with twelve elected village elders, three school teachers and the village's two government functionaries in the medical and agricultural departments,[9] and the Village General Conference in which all the village members participate. Constitutionally, the latter is convened three times a year and at any other time when demand arises. The major institutions with a national base are Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) - the national party, the "Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania" (UWT) - a branch of the national women's organization, the Tanu Youth League (TYL), and the Tanganyika Parents' Association (TAPA). The people's involvement can also be seen in the education field. The School Committee, with the majority of its members being village-elders, provides the opportunity for that involvement.

The school has seven grades. At the beginning of the 1974/1975 school year, a second stream of standard one was opened in the implementation of the national policy for universal primary education. The school enrolment is 330 (195 boys and 135 girls). Out of this number 236 pupils are children of the village members.[10]

The pupils' average attendance for three consecutive school years has been about 80 per cent (Table 5).[11] Kwamsisi has had its

Table 5: Kwamsisi School Attendance 1971-1974

School Year	Average attendance (in percentage)
1971/72	78.1
1972/73	82.4
1973/74	78.5

Source: Computed from monthly average attendance as shown in Kwamsisi School Monthly Reports in the Headteacher's Office.

pupils completing standard seven since 1973. In that year forty-two pupils (thirty-four boys and eight girls) completed their education. In 1974 thirty-four pupils (nineteen boys and fifteen girls) completed standard seven education (Table 6).

Any accurate estimation of the education reform experimented in Kwamsisi must take account of all the factors discussed above.

2. The Development of the Project

The beginnings of Kwamsisi Project can be traced to 1969 when an agreement was made between the Government of Tanzania, on one hand, and UNICEF and UNESCO on the other, concerning the operation of the Primary Education Reform Project in the United Republic of Tanzania (mainland).[12] The operation of the Project, however, began in March, 1971.[13]

Between the signing of the agreement and the beginning of the operation of the project, two measures were taken. First, the objectives of the programme were formulated by educators with experience in primary education. These were the district education officers (DEOs) and the itinerant teacher-educators (ITEs). Second, the Ministry of National Education selected two College of National Education to administer this experiment in school-village integration. The colleges selected were Korogwe and Iringa. It is unfortunate that the project under Iringa College which would have provided a basis for comparison with the project in Kwamsisi, did not continue. From the sources available to the writer, it was not possible to know the criteria used in the selection of the two colleges (out of the ten colleges with a similar status), nor the reasons for the discontinuation of the project under Iringa College. Nevertheless, the project under Korogwe College managed to continue.

Upon instruction from the Ministry of National Education, the ITEs and the Principal of Korogwe College assumed the responsibility for getting the project going, and this is what they did. Firstly, they discussed, with some political and government heads in the district, the proposed educational change to be introduced in Kwamsisi village. Secondly, they, together with some of the Party and government leaders, arranged for a meeting with the Kwamsisi Village Executive Committee members. In the meeting the proposed curriculum change was suggested by the College Principal and ITEs and reactions from the villagers were entertained.

Two major concerns were expressed by the village committee members. Their first concern was with the effect of the new school curriculum on opportunities for social mobility.[14] Specifically, they wanted an assurance that their children would have the same opportunity for secondary education as the children in other primary schools. In this reaction, the Kwamsisi village members provided a typical example of the conception which most Tanzanian parents have about education, that is, education provides a ladder to the higher echelons of the social structure.

The other concern by the villagers had to do with the poverty of the village. They argued that their children completing primary education went away from their village in search of jobs because Kwamsisi did not have resources which provided them the opportunity to earn a decent income and unless there was production of some cash crops this was likely to continue irrespective of any effort in curriculum reform.

So far the proposed change had been virtually accepted by the Village Executive Committee. The reasons for the acceptance of the proposal by the Committee cannot be ascertained since the members did not specifically mention them. It can only be speculated that the Committee had understood what the change was all about as well as its advantages as their reactions mentioned above seem to suggest, or they may have accepted it for another reason - perhaps as an indication of their political support of Government probably because of the various forms of government assistance which Kwamsisi had received or had been promised. All the same, the proposed change was then communicated to the rest of village community and this was in accordance with the village constitution. The village community in their general meeting accepted the proposal, reiterating the demand for the introduction of a cash crop in the area. Again the reasons for the villagers' acceptance of the proposal are not known. The villagers' response was only reported by the Executive Committee in another meeting with the College staff and Ministry of Education officials and the Committee gave no reasons for the peoples' acceptance.[15]

The third action taken by the ITEs was to relay the villagers' request for a cash crop to agricultural department officials who drew up a list of cash crops which could be grown in the village, and arranged to provide some of the seeds.

At the same time as the agricultural problem was being attacked, the ITEs in consultation with the Kwamsisi village elders and teachers, selected the units and the topics for the proposed curriculum. The ITEs consulted the Kwamsisi villagers about what they, the villagers, wanted their children to be taught and what they themselves could teach.[16] This should not be taken to mean that all the units and topics in the curriculum were selected by the villagers only. Some topics were suggested by the ITEs using their experiences as primary school teachers, inspectors of primary school teachers, and as teacher trainers.

Finally, the behavioral objectives discussed below were formulated and some teaching materials prepared by the teacher-trainees at Korogwe College of National Education, under the guidance of the ITEs. In this exercise the trainees also got help from the Kwamsisi villagers who provided various facts about the village.

The curriculum was divided into four areas namely,

(a) Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, the purpose being to provide the children with literacy and numeracy skills important for their thinking and communication.

(b) Political education, aimed at creating an awareness among pupils about the constraints and potentials of the nation so that the pupils may participate more fully in the development of their nation.

(c) Community Studies, intended to provide ideas and skills so important for rural development in which the youth are expected to take part. The studies include modern farming techniques, commerce, health education, and science related to local problems.[17]

(d) Self-Reliance and Cultural Activities which are aimed at developing in pupils, skills and attitude of self-reliance and cooperation. They include all sorts of manual work related to the school and the community, and recreational activities.

The first two curriculum areas are the same as those in the curriculum used by other primary schools in the country, while the last two are new formulations which at the time were specific to the Kwamsisi experiment.

C. Inquiry

1. The Problem

The problem which this study sought to answer was whether the education provided in Kwamsisi was relevant to the national major socio-economic goals - the increase in production of the traditional sector and the rise in levels of living of the rural population in particular and of the nation as a whole; and the transformation of the elitist, competitive individualistic social system into a populist, cooperative one.

The study sought to look more specifically at the following:

(a) the curriculum used in Kwamsisi School, to see whether it reflected the key elements which the EFSR policy emphasizes, including the inculcation of both the attitudes and practice of (i) awareness (ii) activity (iii) self-help and (iv) cooperation;

(b) the approaches used by teachers in classroom teaching and in carrying out other school activities in order to see whether they were compatible with the aims and objectives of EFSR policy;

(c) the link between the school and the village to see whether the connection was consistent with the EFSR policy objectives. In particular, the aspects of the school-village link to be looked into were:

(i) the nature of inter-school-village involvement.

(ii) the people's understanding of the meaning of the school-village link.

(iii) the people's attitude towards the school-village link.

(d) the after-school history of Kwamsisi School graduates, specifically to find out where they were living, as a means of knowing whether there was any tendency for the graduates to remain in the rural areas, and through observation of those living in Kwamsisi, if any, to find out what they were doing, as a way of discovering whether the graduates were involved in the economic productive activities of their community and whether their activities reflected the values and practices of cooperation, activity, self-help, and awareness.

2. Methods of inquiry

(a) Participant observation: the writer attended different meetings of the villagers, the teachers and the pupils. In these meetings the writer did a lot of listening and very little talking. Most of the deliberations were tape-recorded. The writer also participated in agricultural work on the communal farm and had conversations with the village elders there.

(b) Interviews: informal, unstructured interviews were made with various groups - the village elders, teachers, pupils and some members of the staff at Korogwe College of National Education. In some cases the information from the interviews was recorded in privacy immediately after the interviews; in other cases, the interviews were tape-recorded. This was especially the case towards the end of the writer's three week's stay in the village when most of the people had begun to regard him simply as "one of our Kwamsisi teachers."

(c) Documents: a considerable amount of data was found in the School-headteacher's files and books and from the Ministry of National Education.

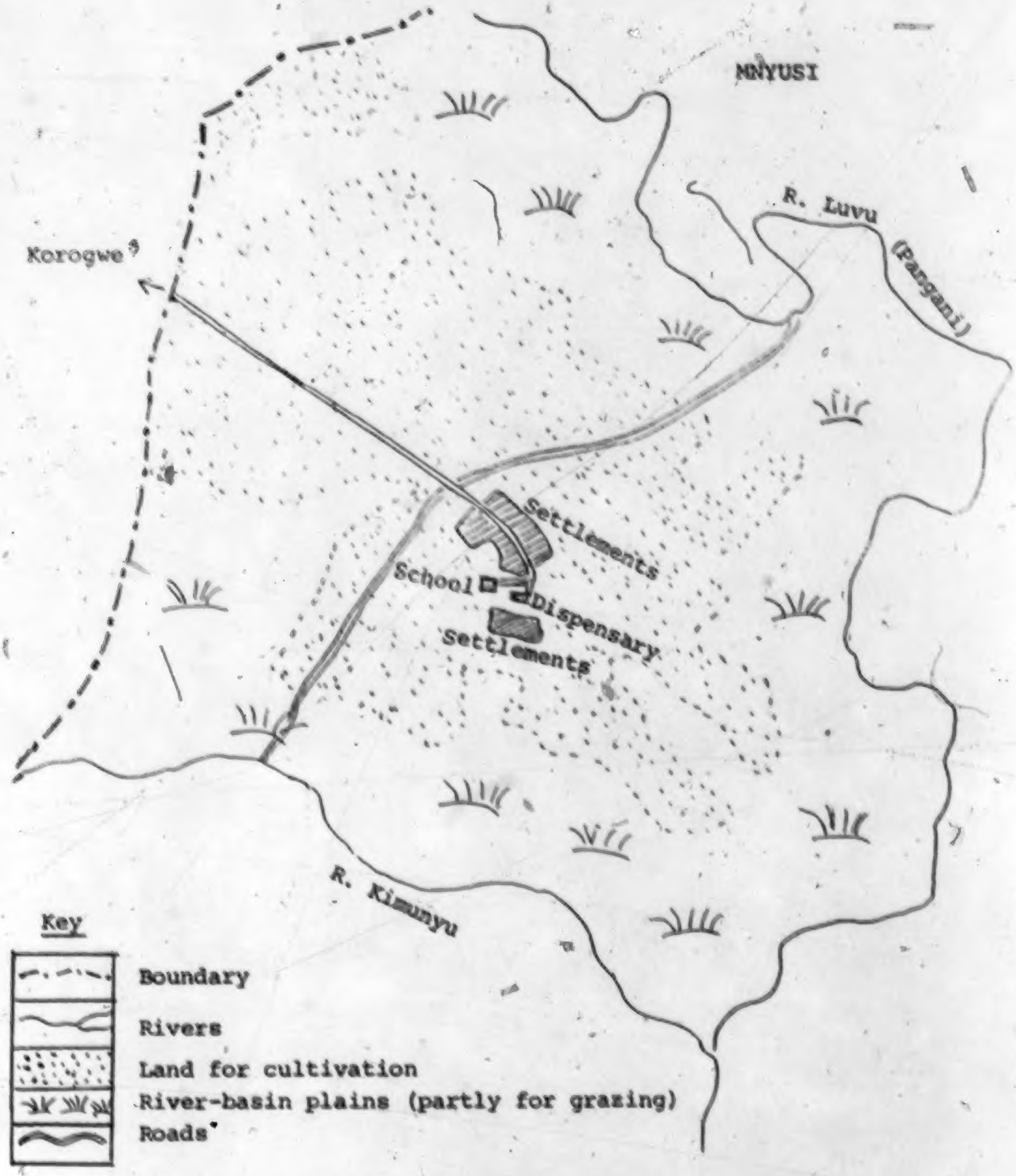
It should be noted that the researcher's involvement in the beginnings of Kwamsisi Project in 1971 and 1972 contributed to his understanding of some of the problems of the experiment.

3. Sampling

The researcher was dealing essentially with the village's sixty families[18] and the primary school with 330 pupils and eight teachers. Because the families lived close together and the school was within the village boundaries (Map 2), the population size was considered manageable. In general, therefore, sampling was regarded as unnecessary and the researcher tried to contact and observe as many village members, teachers and pupils as were available and as time allowed.

However, in one instance, interviews were conducted with only a few people because on account of the limitations of time it was not possible to interview them all. So out of the sixty heads of household, thirty were interviewed. These were randomly selected - every other head of household being chosen. In case the selected interviewee was absent, any other un-interviewed head of household was selected. In addition, seven out of the eight teachers, eighteen out of the

Map 2. Kwamsisi Ujamaa Village and School.


MNYUSI
R. Luvu
(Pangani)
Korogwe[5]
Settlements
School
Dispensary
Settlements
R. Kimunyu
Key
Boundary
Rivers
Land for cultivation
River-basin plains (partly for grazing)
Roads

Note: This is a sketch map and is not drawn to scale.

thirty-three standard seven pupils, and eight of the standard seven graduates remaining in Kwamsisi, were interviewed.

In the case of the teaching staff and the standard-seven pupils and the graduates there was no selection, since all who were available were interviewed. But out of the seven classes in the school, only standard-seven pupils were chosen for interviews. There were two main reasons for this choice. First, standard-seven pupils represented the oldest group in the student population and it was thought that their responses to interviews would be much more reliable than those from the younger groups. Secondly, it was thought that standard seven pupils, being closer to the end of their primary education and to their entry into adult life, were in a better position to answer questions that related to their future role as adults in the society. However, only eighteen of the thirty-three pupils in this group were interviewed because they were the ones available at the time of the interviews. In fact the fifteen mising pupils had not attended schools at least for two consecutive days on which the interviews were conducted and the reasons for their absence were not known to the researcher.

D. Findings

1. The Curriculum

The major objective in examining the curriculum used by the Kwamsisi School was, as mentioned before, to see how far it reflected the key elements of the EFSR policy. The researcher was quite aware of the usual complexities involved in the process of developing a curriculum especially that of the type which was to be used at Kwamsisi

School. For example many different decisions had to be made such as decisions on the curriculum aims, goals, subgoals and instructional objectives. Then there was the selection of the major curriculum areas and the contents and the learning experiences that were to be provided. Most important, the process also involved a variety of people to make or approve the decisions. Above all the decisions were supposed to be closely linked with the national policy.

The complexity of the process, thus suggested a possibility of developing a curriculum which might be incompatible with the policy aims and objectives. For this reason the curriculum was considered an important area of inquiry.

The inquiry into the nature of the curriculum used in Kwamsisi School was divided into two areas namely, the curriculum goals and subgoals, and the curriculum content.

(a) Curriculum Goals and Subgoals

Curriculum goals are defined here as the intended learning outcomes in a particular school programme, such as the goals of Community Studies in (Kwamsisi) Primary School. Subgoals on the other hand are intentions to be realized in a programme in a particular grade (standard) in a given school, for instance, the subgoals of Community Studies in standard seven of Kwamsisi Primary School.[19]

The questions which the study attempted to answer were as follows:

(i) Are the goals and subgoals stated ?

(ii) Are they related to the educational aims enunciated in the EFSR policy ?

(i) Are the Goals and/or Subgoals Stated ?

The significance of this question is based on the understanding that if curriculum goals and subgoals are stated, the teachers are in a better position to understand what they are supposed to teach and the achievement of the curriculum outcome becomes more likely.

This study found that all curriculum areas had stated goals and/or subgoals. For instance, in the teaching of languages - Kiswahili and English - the major aim is to give the pupils the knowledge of and skills in the use of these languages for their benefit and that of the country.[20] In Mathematics the aim was to provide the knowledge, skills, and attitudes in accordance with the national aims and in consideration of the demands arising from new developments in mathematical concepts and teaching methods.[21] The Political Socialization of the school was acknowledged. The school was expected to transmit the values of egalitarianism with its related concepts of human equality and dignity, and cooperative endeavours, as well as the knowledge of the political structure and functions of the Tanzania Government and international bodies.[22] Also to be included were Self-help and Cultural Activities which aimed at providing the pupils with skills and attitudes for self-help and the promotion of a national identity, while the teaching of Community Studies attempted an inculcation of the skills and attitudes important for the promotion and maintenance of good health, improved farming, and life in a rural setting.[23]

(ii) Are the Goals/Subgoals Related to the EFSR Policy Aims ?

The goals and subgoals appear to be emphasizing the key elements of EFSR policy aims. The development of literacy and numeracy which underlies the teaching of languages and Mathematics reflects a concern by the educators to provide skills that will help the children in the acquisition of ideas which may be useful in their identification of problems and solutions - an aspect of awareness. The awareness of problems and solutions is in turn an important tool for effective activity, self-help and cooperation. Literacy and numeracy skills are also important for communication and the ability to communicate is essential for cooperation.

The goals behind other curriculum areas also stressed awareness, activity, self-help and cooperation. In particular, Self-Help and Cultural Activities aimed specifically at the development of work-skills as well as attitudes of cooperation and self-help, while Political Education and Community Studies were related to the development of the learner's awareness of his social and physical environment.

One problem discovered by this study regarding the statement of goals/subgoals was that while Kiswahili, English, Mathematics and Political Education had their goals/subgoals stated in the syllabus, Community Studies and Self-Help and Cultural Activities had their goals stated only in the official documents to which the teachers had no access.[24]

The Self-Help and Cultural Activities area, planned by the Kwamsisi School Self-Help Committee in accordance with the conditions of the local environment, did not have a syllabus and therefore one could not expect to see the formal statement of goals and subgoals as seen in more systematized curriculum areas.[25] But Community Studies like the literacy and numeracy and Political Education areas, had a syllabus. Yet there was no statement of the goals and subgoals for this area of the curriculum. There were, however, instructional objectives stated for the different topics in the syllabus. It was not clear whether the omission of the goals, the more generalized intentions, was deliberate and in favour of the instructional objectives. Nevertheless it is important to note that goals and objectives differ in their levels of generality and in their value. The statement of the goals/subgoals provides a general picture of what a programme or curriculum area is supposed to achieve and this was important for the teachers in Kwamsisi especially as they are involved in an experiment of a new form of education.

(b) Curriculum Content

Under this section two aspects were considered namely,

(i) whether the curriculum content related or made references to the concepts of awareness, activity, cooperation, and self-help - the key elements of EFSR.

(ii) whether the curriculum areas related to the concepts mentioned in (i) above.

(i) The Curriculum Content and the Key Elements of EFSR

The study revealed that the content of the curriculum areas were locally oriented, that is, they were about local phenomena or about phenomena external to the local environment but inter-related with the local through the subject matter or through the teaching methods e.g. using local materials to teach a new idea or skill.

A few examples are given to illustrate the above points. In Kiswahili the topics for discussion related to the social, political, and economic aspects of Tanzania; for example: our family, ujamaa living, the school cooperative shop, good food and good cooking, an Ujamaa village, and parliamentary elections, to mention a few. Political Education consisted of subject matter centred around the national policies of Socialism and Self-reliance. Again these are set within the perspectives of the child's local environment - the village, and of the environment external but related to his locality - the district, the region, the nation and lastly other nations. Similarly, the content of Community Studies includes such topics as the development of good health, attitudes and practices, modern farming, our land - its relief, weather conditions, vegetations, and history. The subject matter for Self-Help and Cultural Activities is physical activity, work and play. The work is supposed to be linked with the activities of the local community and play is woven around the local dances and songs.

The importance of stressing the local environment or linking new ideas with the local situation lies in the fact that the locality provides a base upon which children can conceptualize about things or phenomena that are more distant and it facilitates the development of awareness about one's social and physical environment. The understanding of the locality also facilitates the application of ideas and skills. The ability to transfer ideas or skills depends essentially on the knowledge of what one transfers and the relatedness of the other activities to which the ideas are being transferred. EFSR defines the role of education as being to equip the youth with values, skills and knowledge necessary for the economic development and the improvement of social life of the rural areas. The attainment of such a goal demands that education place an emphasis on application of ideas and skills, and effective application will need a thorough knowledge and appreciation of the local environment.

(ii) The Curriculum Areas (subjects) and the Key Elements of EFSR

A study of the goals and contents of Community Studies shown in (a) and (b) above suggests a link of this curriculum area with the inculcation of awareness of the learner's environment. Political Socialization, the teaching of languages as well as numeracy are also in this category.

Self-Help and Cultural Activities, because of its being about physical activities as shown earlier, seems to be directly related to the concept of activity. Depending on the teachers' approach, this curriculum area may also be related to the concept of cooperation, self-help, and awareness. Similarly, Political Education could be related to cooperation and self-help concepts through the study of such topics as nation-building - the duties of the government and its people, and the development of *ujamaa* villages.[26] However, one feature of the curriculum which can be a constraint in the maximum attainment of the attitudes and practices of activity, problem-solving, self-help, and cooperation is the existing method of assessing the educational achievement of the child in Kwamsisi School.

This study found that at the end of his primary education, a child has to sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination which is used for both certification and selection. Perhaps the worst aspect of this examination is that it is used for selection of pupils for entry into secondary schools. Though in principle the course work is considered for this exercise, in practice the final examination tends to carry greater weight.

The impact that this examination has on the teachers, pupils and parents is significant. All tend to view the examination as the most crucial phenomenon in primary education. The pupils, encouraged by their parents, work hard to pass it. The teachers on the other hand select the curriculum content and methodology that will best facilitate the pupils' passing the examination. The chances that the teacher will use methods that tend to keep him on one topic long enough for the pupils to be actively involved in the learning and application of ideas - methods that demand application, discussion between pupils, search of ideas outside the syllabus and textbook and such other methods - are very minimal. As a result teachers resort to narration, dictation, and one-way question method (from teacher to student, and not vice versa).

The findings of the study of the Kwamsisi School curriculum can be summarized as follows: the goals and contents of the curriculum show a concern for the major elements of the EFSR policy. But the Primary School Learning Examination which in practice is a "Secondary School Entry Examination" tends to limit the full realization of those elements.

Yet goals are simply ideals, which means that anticipated results and the actual results may not necessarily be congruent. Therefore what happens in between the set goals and the final results is important in consideration of the relevancy of education to societal problems. Similarly, the curriculum content is useful only in so far as it specifies what ought to be taught in order to attain the desired ends. But content, like an instrument, is subject to use in a manner that is dependent on the motive and aptitude of the user.

Thus the examination of formally stated curriculum goals and content in assessing the effectiveness of a programme is not enough. An attempt must also be made to examine what is actually taught in classrooms and how it is taught, since methods of teaching can also influence curriculum outcomes.

2. The Teachers' Approaches in Teaching and Compatibility with EFSR

The basis of inquiry into this area is the understanding that the inculcation of skills and predispositions is dependent not only in what is being inculcated but also in how it is being taught. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that some methods of teaching are more effective than others in achieving set goals of education. In this connection the researcher chose three approaches - activity-centred, project and group-work method[27] - which he considered as stressing the inculcation of the attitudes and practices of activity, self-help, awareness and cooperation, and which he used as "ideals" on the basis of which the study of the teachers' approaches in teaching was done.

Activity-centred techniques of teaching were defined as those that were intended to provoke the pupils to engage in various activities. The assumption behind the use of such a method is that pupils would develop some skills and habits of doing or making things.

The project method was defined as an approach which provided a child with the opportunity to identify problems or formulate problems and find solutions to the problems, using to the best possible advantage, the resources available to the learner or those that the learner himself discovers. The underlying assumption is that the use of such techniques will foster the development of the learner's capacity to think and to take action on his own. In this way the development of awareness, self-help, and activity is made possible.

Group-work was defined as a teaching approach that gave the learner the opportunity to learn to work with, and learn from,others and to make individual contributions to a group in return for the learner's socio-psychological satisfaction. The idea behind this is that given such opportunities, the learner will develop inclinations to cooperate with others. In addition he will acquire skills that may facilitate his full participation in the affairs of a community to which he belongs or in the affairs of another community but which affect him or his community.

a) Activity Method

This study found that the activity method seemed to be more employed than the other two methods, by the Kwamsisi school teachers. This was revealed from my observation of several classes at work, and confirmed by the fact that the time-table provided for each of standards V, VI, and VII, six periods per week, of Practical Community Studies and each period was forty minutes long.

Most of the classes observed demonstrated some activity. In Standard I Arithmetic class, the pupils were engaged in an exercise involving the comparison of sets of various items in terms of numbers of items in each set. The things used in this exercise were maize seeds, stones, and shells, all of which were obtained in the school. In Standard IV Science the pupils were trying to learn some principles of electrical conduction using wires and dry cells obtained from the local village shops.

Perhaps the most striking activity-oriented classes observed were the Standard VI school-broadcast science class and the Standard V community studies class. The school broadcast science class was about mosquitoes - their life cycle, their dangers to the health of the community, and ways to control them. The teacher had also invited standard V pupils to this class.[28] For the first ten minutes or so the teacher asked the pupils to listen to the broadcast at the end of which, and for about fifteen minutes, the teacher attempted a review of the major points through oral questions such as "how many types of mosquitoes are there ? What is their life-cycle ? What harm do they have on animals ? In what way are they harmful to man ? How do you fight mosquitoes ?"

Following the review, the teacher suggested that there was a place with stagnant water, close to the school, and instructed his class to get hoes and walk to the prescribed place and dig up furrows to drain off the stagnant water. At the same time he allowed standard V class to go back to their classroom and continue with their normal schedule.

The pupils and the teacher (the writer also took part in this undertaking) took the hoes and walked about 400 metres to the work place. We drained the area, spending about twenty minutes. After this was completed, we went back to the tool-store where we deposited the hoes, and for the last fifteen minutes the pupils were left alone. Some of them went back to their classroom and did what they pleased while others walked around on the school compound as if waiting for the recess at 10.20 a.m.

Obviously some mistakes in teaching principles can be noted in the lesson. For instance, the teacher suggested where stagnant water could be found and instructed the pupils what to do about the water, when he should have provoked the pupils into thinking about the problem of mosquito breeding in the village and school environment and let the pupils locate the breeding areas and suggest what to do about such areas. Further he could have let the pupils, after they had agreed on what to do, organise themselves in work groups and carry out the job in accordance with their decision and their own planned strategy while the teacher remained in the background trying to help them in their decisions and participating in the manual work like any other member of the group.

In addition, the last fifteen minutes could perhaps have been spent for something more meaningful to the lesson. Probably the children could have spent the time discussing whether the job they had done could be continued and extended to another place since there were lots of other ponds and tall grass in the village.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the lesson was activity-oriented and above all the activity was relevant to the problems of Kwamsisi.[29] The teacher made a follow-up of the broadcast by involving the pupils through questions, and ended up the lesson by making the pupils apply the ideas learnt in the class. It should be taken into consideration that for some teachers in Tanzania, the broadcast class is the radio teacher's class. For them the broadcast period is time for doing other important work of their own such as marking exercise-books or preparing lesson plans for another class. As a result, broadcast programmes tend to have no follow up at all or if any follow-up is done it is generally a recitation of what was on the broadcast.

Another activity-oriented class was a Standard V Community Studies class and was on malaria. Apparently the pupils had learnt about the anopheles mosquito as the carrier of malaria parasites, its life cycle, and how to fight the mosquito, and therefore the first stage of the lesson was set for revision with the teacher asking questions and the children answering them. In the second stage the teacher asked the pupils if they could identify the breeding ground for mosquitoes. He then instructed them to go out into the school compound and the village settlement area and locate the places where mosquitoes breed.

The class of sixteen together surveyed the teachers' quarters and the village area, identifying the spots suspected of mosquito breeding and discussed how to destroy the places, as they went along. The teacher was with the pupils all the way trying to keep the discussion going. Finally, he provoked the pupils into considering the possibility of doing something about the breeding ground. One pupil suggested that the class should plan to go to the village and drain the stagnant water. Another proposed that the rest of the school should be involved in this fight against the mosquito. This proposal was accepted by the majority of the pupils who decided that one of them should inform the Self-Help Committee officials about the standard V proposal. The class, two hours long, ended with accepting the proposal - a fight against mosquitoes was to be launched and it was to involve the whole school. What happened later will be discussed in another section.

Again one will find a fault here and there concerning principles of teaching yet the overall approach has enough features of activity.[30]

b) Project Method

This approach was least used. From the classes that the writer observed there was little evidence of the involvement of individual pupils in identifying problems and solving them on their own.[31] Most of the teachers, however, tried to involve individual pupils in the learning process, and they did so largely through the question method and written assignments.

But the problem of the question method and the written assignment approach, as used by most primary school teachers in Tanzania is that such methods have been so common - they were used even before the declaration of EFSR - that they have been taken very lightly by most teachers with the result that in question method, for example, the teachers ask questions which are not thought-provoking, or they do not consider the slow thinking child who cannot provide an answer to the teacher's question in the thirty seconds or so allowed by the teacher for the thinking, nor do they consider the problem faced by the shy pupil.

This is not to deny the need for training the pupils to think quickly but it certainly does not meet the needs and capabilities of all the pupils; it tends to focus attention on the few bright children - which is antithetical to the aims of education as suggested in the EFSR. In addition, written assignments, though they are intended to give each individual the opportunity to attempt a solution to a problem does not in practice consider fully the interests of all learners. Many times the teacher marks the completed assignments after class, and spends very little time giving feedback to the pupils with problems. In this way only a few of the learners benefit from the assignments. In a number of classes observed and in which written assignments were given, the interests of the teacher were on the few bright ones or at best only on those who had the writing facilities.[32] In view of this situation, therefore, some pupils did not have an opportunity to exercise their individual capacities - again this is against the EFSR policy aims.

c) Group Work

This study found that very little of group work as defined earlier was used by the teachers in Kwamsisi School. Among the classes observed, the Standard I Arithmetic class was probably the only one that demonstrated the use of group approach.[33] The lesson was about matching sets of items. The teacher's aim was apparently to enable the pupils to compare sizes of sets using a method other than counting the items within the sets.

At the beginning of the lesson the teacher asked the pupils to sing a song of a pupil's choice, the song being about sets. She then showed the class two sets of things and asked the pupils to say which of the sets was larger (had more members) than the other. That having been answered she asked how they could tell that set A was larger than set B. The pupils mentioned the various ways including the "matching" approach about which the teacher wanted the pupils to learn.

Next she instructed the pupils to collect maize seeds, "uhule" from the back of the class and in groups of three, four, or five, the pupils were to play the matching-of-sets game. The grouping of the pupils was according to desks which they occupied. This way of grouping proved ineffective (even though the teacher was probably unaware of this). Four or five pupils on one desk was overcrowding - the children uncomfortable as they were, particularly those at the two ends of the desks did not fully participate in the game as they were preoccupied in ensuring that they would not fall off the desks. Secondly, because the matching was done in the centre of the desks, the pupils at the extreme end had difficulty even in observing the activity on their desk. Lastly since the game involved only two pupils at a given time the other one or two or three pupils played only a spectator role; and since the teacher did not ensure that each pupil had a turn in the actual matching (rather than simply observing) some of the pupils never had the chance of matching. The thirty-minute class ended in only a few taking an active part - the others played a passive role. Yet this was an evidence of an attempt to use group method despite the short-comings.

There were certain classes observed in which the teachers could have used the group approach and made their lessons much more effective and meaningful. For example in a history lesson for standard VII a teacher taught about World War II as it affected Tanzania. He started by narrating and asking a few questions to test whether the pupils had grasped the facts. Finally the teacher instructed the pupils to do a written exercise in their books. He wrote ten questions on the board. Eight of the questions were of "who, what, where" type e.g. "World War II occured in 1939-1945. Where did it start ?" and "Who was the German Commander in the War ?" Only two of the questions were probably more thought-provoking, and were of the following type "What were the advantages behind the establishment of the East African High Commission ?"

This class could have been taught in a more activistic and group-oriented way. Assuming the pupils had learnt about World War I (in accordance with the order of topics in the history syllabus),[34] the teacher could have got the pupils to discuss, in review, the nature of a war: the size of operations, the weaponry used, the people involved etc.. He would have then posed the question of the effects of war on the countries in which a war had been fought and on the countries dominated by the major belligerents, and would have asked them to think about what if Tanzania were involved in a war. The main questions having been asked, the teacher could have suggested a discussion, in groups of five or six, each choosing its own chairman, and recording secretary and putting down the points agreed upon by the group. Finally, the groups could have been challenged to bring in their points which in turn would have been discussed by the class as a single group, the teacher or a pupil as chairman of the class discussion. The points accepted in this class would have been put on the board. In the process the teacher would have to emphasize individual contribution to the group and the group contribution to the class.

Another class in which the teachers could have employed the group method more effectively was an athletics class. It involved the whole school and virtually all the teachers. In a staff meeting a few hours before the class it had been decided by the staff that a school athletics team be selected immediately so that training should start as early as possible.

The teachers got all the boys in groups of ten or so to run 100 metres, and a short while later got the girls to do the same. In the first round they picked up, from each of the boys' groups and girls' groups, the three best runners and got them to compete in the second round and finally got a few dozen boys and girls who had run faster than most of the other pupils. The period ended when there was a downpour of afternoon rains.

Certainly there was group work. The pupils had been divided in two sex groups and in each of the two, several smaller groups. But this was group work dictated by the nature of the activity. It was not deliberately organized to get the pupils to learn the values of cooperation and to develop a feeling of working for the group. Situations like this are necessary for the inculcation of group feelings to counteract the tendency for over-emphasis on individual achievement in sports.

The teachers could have given the responsibility for organization to class leaders and the competition done on class basis, perhaps with a special arrangement e.g. Standard VII vs. Standard VI, Standard V vs. Standard IV, Standard III vs. Standard II, and Standard IB vs. Standard IA; and within the groupings, subgroupings could have been made, perhaps according to age, physical build, and sex.

3. The School-Village Link and its Consistency with EFSR Objectives

The purpose of school-village relationship according to the EFSR policy is to facilitate the inculcation of predispositions and practices of self-help, cooperation, activity and awareness. This study sought to find out whether the link served the assumed purpose. In order to do so, three aspects of the school-village relationship were examined.

a) the nature of involvement in the village and school activities by the parents, teachers, peers, and the pupils. The assumption is that what the parents, teachers and peers do in the village and in the school can have an influence in the socialization of the pupils. Further, the types of opportunities for learning which the pupils are provided with by the school and the community at large, have an impact on the socialization of the youth.

b) the people's understanding of the meaning of the school-village link. The assumption underlying this is that if the people concerned in the reform know the purpose of the link, then they are in a better position to inculcate the attitudes and practices which the EFSR policy emphasizes.

c) the people's attitude towards the establishment of the link between the village and the school. Basic to this issue is the notion that the concerned people's acceptance or non-acceptance of the link (or indecision about the desirability or undesirability of the link) will have some effect on the achievement of the intended purpose of the school-village relationship.

a) The Nature of Involvement in the Village and School

(i) Parents

This group included all married villagers with or without families who have been engaged in the activities of the village and the school in different ways.

This study discovered that some parents had been involved in the development of the curriculum, now in use at Kwamsisi School. In the initial stage the village as a whole made a decision leading to the introduction of curriculum changes. Later on, individuals with special knowledge about the village helped in the collection of teaching materials. The individuals and a few others with special skills in local crafts, medicines, and dancing were also involved in teaching the Kwamsisi pupils.

It appears that this involvement in curriculum development and in instruction has been a continuous process. Two years after the new curriculum had been introduced, the villagers decided to start a poultry project and to build a carpentry workshop for the good of their school children and the village as a whole.[35] Subsequent to that decision, the villagers as well as the pupils and the teachers built a chicken-house and a workshop for carpentry and tinsmithery classes.[36] The villagers were expecting to complete the preparation for the poultry project this year (1975). It is understood that the initial push to start these projects resulted from nine village elders who had attended an orientation course for in-service teachers at Korogwe College of National Education and learned about poultry, carpentry, tinsmithery, cattle-raising and elementary book-keeping.[37] The suggestion that village elders attend the course was made by the Principal of Korogwe College.[38]

In addition, the villagers contributed to the establishment of a Day Care Centre at Kwamsisi. They hired a teacher for the centre, enforced attendance by all pre-school age children of the villagers, and were preparing to build a permanent classroom for the young children.

The parents had taken part in other school activities such as the economic project being undertaken by the school. They had participated in the planning and implementation of the projects.[39] For instance in the 1972/73, 1973/74 school years, the villagers provided the school with a tractor (loaned to the village by the government office in Korogwe) for the cultivation of the school shamba, gave the school some fertilizer and pesticide for the maize and cotton plants, and provided labour for weeding and harvesting.[40]

Another interesting aspect of the relationship of the village and the school is the villagers' use of Kwamsisi School as an experimental ground for economic projects which the villagers learn from outside. For instance in September 1971, three village-elders from the Executive Committee accompanied the Korogwe College Principal, Itinerant Teacher Educators (ITEs), a student-teacher and the Kwamsisi

School Head-teacher in a study trip to Morogoro where soyabeans were grown and processed. After this trip the village grew soyabeans as an experiment, on the school shamba. Unfortunately, the experiment was not successful.[41] Between 1972 and 1973 the village-elders took part in two study tours. One was a three-day tour to Kibaha Agricultural Research Centre[42] apparently for an orientation on poultry farming. Another was a tour to Korogwe College of National Education by nine village elders, where they had an orientation in the principles of poultry-keeping, cattle raising, carpentry, tinsmithery and elementary book-keeping.[43]

The result of these study tours was that the villagers built a carpentry and tinsmithery workshop on the school compound and let the village's primary school graduates learn carpentry and tinsmithery. Further, they started working on a poultry project and so far they have the chicken house built in the school premises.

(ii) Peers

This group includes young men and women of primary school-going age and those beyond that age but who are still dependent on their parents.

The impression given in informal conversations and interviews with the village elders is that the youth's involvement in most activities of the village as a community had been minimal. At times they had been engaged in family assignments such as looking after cattle, and cultivation. At other times they had been seen walking about in the streets with nothing to do except chat. Their absence in collective farm work was also noted by the writer when one day he participated in tobacco planting in the village "shamba".

Various explanations were given by different villagers interviewed. Some said that the youth had not seen any tangible benefit from the economic projects of the village. Others thought it was the parents' weakness in that they did not push their children to take part in cooperative activity.

To understand the source of the weakness one needs to remember that some parents in Kwamsisi had themselves been failing to participate in collective activities. Parents have direct authority over their youth. Generally before he gets married, the youth is under the direct care of the parent or guardian. When a youth leaves for an urban centre or a sisal estate in search for a job, usually the parent knows about the act, or else the parent has a cause for worry. In conversation with some of the school leavers about the cause of their absence from the community work which the writer happened to have attended it was noted that some of the young men had been assigned by their parents to work on the family shamba, others looked after the family cattle and one had gone on a long trip most likely with the knowledge or permission of the parent.

Under such conditions it is very likely that the parents are the source of the problem. If they dislike community work, their children will follow suit.

Another possible source of the weakness could be in the organizational structure of the village. Under the village constitution a young man or woman under eighteen years old cannot be a member of the village. Implicit in this principle is the idea that the youth (under eighteen) cannot have access to rights and privileges accorded to members. For instance, he cannot participate in any decision-making body of the village, nor is he entitled to a share of the communal farm to take care of as a village member normally is.[44] If he participates in the communal shamba activity then he does so only as a dependent of his parent. This also means that the reward from his participation in the shamba-work will be given in accordance with the interests of the parent which may not necessarily correspond to the interests of the youth.

What this may lead to is a lack of motivation on the part of the youth in getting seriously involved in the activities of the village. These are conclusions made only through inferences from some of the principles contained in the village constitution and therefore the conclusions might be invalid. However one thing which may render support to the conclusions is that through the interviews, conversations, and meetings with the youth, the pupils, the teachers, and the parents, there was no mention at all of the existence of a section of the communal farm which was to be taken care of by the youth either as individuals or as a group.

(iii) Teachers

The school teachers in Kwamsisi had been involved in various activities which in most cases related to both the school and the village. For example at the beginning of the project, they participated in curriculum development by providing some feed-back on the new curriculum as they used it. This feedback was communicated to the ITEs at Korogwe.

College, who administer the Kwamsisi Project. Through their membership in various committees of the village the teachers had taken part in the village decisions concerning the educational projects such as the Day Care Centre, the poultry project, and the carpentry and tinsmithery workshop. They had also participated in the school economic projects - sharing with the pupils and the village elders in planning and implementing the projects. Three teachers are members of the pupils' Self-Help Committee. At times they initiated the plans and instructed the pupils to carry out the plans sometimes requesting the village elders to participate. The weeding of the cotton plants on the school "shamba", and the planting of orange trees in the school orchard are examples of activities the planning of which was undertaken by the teachers.[45]

The teachers' involvement can also be seen in the village activities. Their membership in various village committees - three teachers in the Village Executive Committee, four in the School Committee, one in the TYL, and three in the UWT - facilitated their participation in decision-making in matters pertaining to the village and the school. They also took part in social functions - weddings and funerals. Interviews on the villagers' familiarity with the headteacher and the rest of the teachers showed that about 90 percent of the villagers knew who the headteacher was and about 66 percent knew the other teachers.

(iv) Pupils

The Kwamsisi pupils had been involved in a number of activities in their school and in their village. These included the economic projects and other self-help activities such as cultivation of the school shamba, weeding and harvesting on both the school and village farms, building, and cleaning the school as well as the village environment.

The nature and type of their involvement had varied from one time and circumstance to another. In some activities the pupils were involved in planning. For instance, the programme of maintenance of the school premises was planned by the pupils through the Self-Help Committee. The cleaning activities carried out in the morning were done by all the pupils in seven groups and the supervision of the work was done by the group leaders. On two occasions the writer witnessed the pupils do their own planning on things related to the village and the school. In one of the meetings six members of the Self-Help Committee met to discuss the problem of stray cattle which ate the school maize plants. In this meeting it was resolved that the matter be brought to the attention of the parents.

In another meeting which involved pupils from Standard V, VI, and VII more pupils participated. The headboy, a teachers' appointee, was Chairman of the meeting. The issues for discussion were (a) the fight against mosquitoes for the prevention of malaria and (b) the dangers of keeping cattle within the village-settlement area. The two issues had been raised by Standard V pupils who on the previous day during a lesson on malaria had surveyed the village environment in an attempt to locate areas suspected to be the breeding ground for mosquitoes.

The meeting, which lasted about twenty minutes, seemed to involve various members who put forward their suggestions on what to do about the mosquitoes and the cattle. Their resolutions were (a) that one Saturday morning (date specified) the school would drain all stagnant water in the village, and (b) that the parents should be informed about the pupils' concern over the cattle living within the village and a meeting of the parents and pupils be convened to discuss the issue. The teacher who attended the meeting was asked to convey the message to the School Committee.[46]

Sometimes, however, the pupils simply implemented plans made by the teachers or the village and passed through to their teachers. For instance, once an agricultural department official brought to Kwamsisi some orange trees for planting on the school orchard and the teacher responsible for agriculture decided that the trees be planted the following day. He notified the Headteacher who instructed that the other teachers be informed as well. The next morning the village boys and girls were called by ringing the school bell. A group of twenty pupils turned up, most of them , Standard I pupils. The pupils were actually on vacation. On instruction from the agricultural teacher the pupils marked distances between pits,dug up the pits, brought cow-dung from the village, deposited it in the pits and planted the orange trees. There was a lunch break before the work was resumed in the afternoon. Four teachers actively participated in the work but no villager was involved.[47]

Through participant observation one thing was evident to the researcher. The pupils had not been involved in the decisions to plant the orange trees as evidenced by the poor turn up by the pupils. There are over 200 pupils - all children of the villagers living in Kwamsisi and only 10 percent attended. In addition, two of the villagers complained to the headteacher and the Chairman of the School Committee about the pupils being engaged in school work during school vacation and in a meeting of the School Committee the case was brought up for discussion. When the teachers were asked to explain to the two complainants how the orange tree planting came about, one teacher on behalf of the headteacher stated that the pupils had been warned about the job, before the school closed.[48] The pupils had not planned the activity, they had been instructed to do the job. Further, in the process of planting the trees one could notice the lack of pupil initiative. The teachers generally told the pupils what to do and the pupils were supposed to follow the instructions.[49]

A similar event happened in the weeding of the cotton shamba and a number of other manual activities in the school. The teachers having made the decisions, the pupils were rallied around and were told to pick up this tool or that, and engage in one activity or another - the same kind of problem as found in some of the teaching approaches used in the classroom.

It helps to remember that the pupils did not have a representative in any of the village Committees. Apparently, on these committees, the teachers were expected to represent their own interests and those of the pupils so that the inputs in the planning of the village activities came from the parents and teachers only. If there is any contribution at all from the pupils in the activities of the village, then their contribution was their labour. The pupils could plan activities which concerned the village and might go ahead implementing the plans as shown earlier but they could not take part in planning village activities together with their parents.

The discrepancy between principles and practice is clear. In principle there is the belief that the pupils can plan something meaningful if given the guide, hence the establishment of the Self-Help Committee. There is also the belief that there is some good in the pupils' involvement in making such decisions - self-reliance, cooperative and activistic skills and attitudes are best attained in that way. Yet in practice the pupils are denied that opportunity not only in school but also in the village.

In summary, it can be stated that there are many activities in which the village members are involved at the school and the village. But the decisions concerning when and how to do what are made essentially by the committee members who are elected by the villagers themselves. The implementation of the plans in school or village is for all the people. But some of the villagers do not participate in the collective activities and so do the youths in general. Sometimes the school is required to participate in the activities of the village. Decisions to involve the school are made in the village committees in which the teachers, but not the pupils, are represented. In school some of the planning decisions are made by the pupils but the tendency is for most of the activities to be planned by the teachers. This way of doing things presents a contradiction between the theory and practice and may militate against the goals enunciated in the EFSR policy.

(b) Understanding the Meaning of the School-Village Link

The meaning of the school-village link was apparently not quite understood by both the villagers and the teachers.

The linking of the school and the village is a strategy aimed at creating in the youth a greater awareness of the problems of rural development and a more effective way of imparting skills and attitudes related to self reliance and participation useful in solving those problems. Yet the meaning of the link for most of the villagers was simply umoja ni nguvu (unity is strength) and when requested to explain what they meant by the proverb, most of them referred to labour as the basic meaning of the link. Most of them said the link helped the villagers to accomplish their agricultural work much faster, since there was extra labour from the school. They also mentioned the same thing about the school: "they can cultivate more with the help of the villagers."

Most of the village leaders refer to Kwamsisi School as Shule ya mapinduzi (a revolutionary school). What kind of revolution is behind the Kwamsisi School was a question most leaders could not answer. Once in a School Committee meeting it was felt by the members that many villagers especially those who recently moved into Kwamsisi did not understand the meaning of the Kwamsisi educational reform.[50] The explanation about the reform given by one leader and supported by over 50 percent of the members was merely that Kwamsisi was a revolutionary school and he supported this view point with what appeared to the members as evidence - the many visitors, and especially foreign visitors, who went to Kwamsisi.

The teachers in general made reference to the material advantages gained from the school-village link as being basic to the integration. They mentioned the school getting facilities which other schools would not get such as free fertilizer, and tractor from the village, and about the school's achievements in economic self reliance projects such as being able to provide a mid-day meal, and victory in Self Reliance competitions among regional schools. Certainly such achievements may be related to the school-village link. But as shown earlier, the link means more than the attainment of economic ends.

c) Acceptance of the School-Village Link

Most of the villagers and all the teachers in Kwamsisi accept the importance of the link between the school and the village. Of the thirty villagers interviewed, all thought that the link was desirable. Similarly all the seven teachers interviewed felt the link was a good educational strategy. Eighteen standard VII pupils were also interviewed and sixteen felt that integration of the school and the village was acceptable; only two were not sure of the answer.

Nevertheless, from observation and informal conversations, it was learnt that the acceptance was not without its reservations. A few events suggested this. The case of the two villagers complaining about the use of school children on school farm during vacations, mentioned earlier, is one example. In addition, there was a general feeling that attendance in collective activities including those of the school, by some village members, was not encouraging. Further some members of a village zone refused to contribute towards the construction of a classroom building for an additional standard I class. The decision to contribute had been made in a meeting of the School Committee.[51] The committee members who had made their contributions in the meeting were asked to request their people to make their contributions - one shilling each or a bundle of reeds as part of the building materials. One of the committee members was heard telling the chairman of the school committee that his people had refused to offer their contribution.

It is possible that there are various reasons behind the above happenings, but one thing is almost certain: the school community link is not supported by all the villagers. Those who complained about the use of pupils on the school shamba on school holidays may have done so in ignorance of what happens in the school, but it is also possible that they did so as a protest against the reality of schooling as they had known it.

The community members who did not turn up for the village activities, even when the activities concerned the school are probably opposed to the whole idea of engaging in collective activity. It is even more likely that they do not appreciate the meaning of the school activities and therefore do not believe in a parent lending a hand in the activities. Finally, those who refused to offer their contribution towards the school building may have done so because of the lack of understanding or many other reasons but it is just as possible that they lacked the appreciation of the need for the village involvement in those matters that "concern the school."

These events are probably not enough to make any strong conclusions about the attitudes of the Kwamsisi villagers towards the establishment of the school-community link in Kwamsisi. One needs additional and repeated happenings before one can make any conclusive statements about their attitudes. However, the events, few and isolated as they are, do provoke the need for further inquiry into the problems of school-community link, especially in a rural setting. The events also render suspect any statements about the acceptability of a school-community integration in Kwamsisi.

4. The Kwamsisi School Graduates

a) The Whereabouts of the Kwamsisi School Graduates

This study found that there were forty-two Kwamsisi School graduates in 1973 and thirty four in 1974 (Table 4). A further examination of the figures shows the following trends:

(i) an increase in the number of graduates known to have remained in their rural areas after completing their primary education - 24 per cent of the 1973 graduates against 56 per cent in 1974;

(ii) a decrease in the number of graduates known to have gone for direct employment after graduation (5 per cent in 1973 against 0 per cent in 1974);

(iii) a decrease in the number of graduates who joined private secondary schools and vocational training institutions both private and public.[52] (36 per cent in 1973 against 9 per cent in 1974);

(iv) a decrease in the number of graduates who went to relatives in urban centres (24 per cent in 1973 against 12 per cent in 1974).

These figures, even though suggesting certain trends, cannot be used for conclusive generalizations because they are for only two sets of graduates - the 1973 and 1974 graduates - and the total numbers involved are rather small. But even if the figures conclusively

Table 6: Kwamsisi Graduates 1973 and 1974

Year of Graduation	Number of Graduates			What happened to the graduates
	Boys	Girls	Total	
1973	-	1	1	joined secondary school (private)
	2	-	2	joined Teacher's College
	3	-	3	joined National Service (para military service)
	1	-	1	joined Police Force
	1	-	1	joined the Army
	6	-	6	joined Trade School (private)
	-	3	3	joined training courses (commercial, nursing)
	4	1	5	allowed to repeat Standard VII (1974) in Kwamsisi
	11	3	14	went home outside Kwamsisi Village[a]
	6	-	6	remained in Kwamsisi Village[b]
Total	34	8	42	
1974	2	2	4	joined Secondary School (Public)
	1	-	1	joined Secondary School (Private)
	2	-	2	joined Trade School (Private)
	2	2	4	allowed to repeat standard VII (1975) in Kwamsisi
	3	1	4	went to relatives in urban centres
	-	7	7	went to rural homes (outside Kwamsisi)
	9	3	12	went home (in Kwamsisi Village)[c]
Total	19	15	34	

Note: The figures have been compiled from interview with Kwamsisi school headteacher.

(a) It is known that later in the year ten went to relatives in urban centres and only four remained in their rural homes.

(b),(c) Fourteen of the boys in these groups enrolled in the "Trade School" in Kwamsisi.

suggested a tendency for more graduates to remain in the rural areas one would still need to know about a number of factors which would provide a complete picture of the case with which this study is concerned. For instance, one would need to know about whether the graduates' stay in the rural area had been continuous or intermittent, and if not continuous, whether their partial absence from the rural area had been associated with a search for paid jobs in the modern sector or with other reasons.

Further, it would be necessary to know whether the increase in the number of graduates remaining in the rural area had been due to the educational experiences in Kwamsisi or whether other forces independent of the educational experience had been influential. For instance the increase in the number of graduates remaining in Kwamsisi may have been due to the progressive improvement of life in Kwamsisi - an increase in food and cash crops, the establishment of a carpentry and tinsmithery school in the village, the improved transport facilities between the village and Korogwe town, the possibility of the villagers getting a permanent, clean supply of water by the end of 1975, and the expansion of the village built in a model resembling a small town.

Alternatively, the forces behind the change in retention rates of graduates in the rural areas could be due to external factors such as the increasing scarcity of paid jobs in the modern sector owing to the slow expansion of this sector and therefore of job opportunities relative to the increasing number of job aspirants including the school-leavers. In fact wage employment opportunities in some sectors such as the sisal industry have been dwindling because of the drop in the prices of sisal on the world market.

Above all, it is important that we know more about the school leavers who move to the towns, specifically the reasons behind such moves. It could well be that some of the pupils have their parents or guardians in town and being still under the parental care, as it is the case with almost all the primary school children in Kwamsisi, a child has to go to his parent's place after school. Or the child may have gone to town to see a relative for a short vacation after which the child comes back to his rural home. In either case, it cannot be justifiably argued that the children's going to town was an indication of the failure of the school to achieve their retention in the rural areas.

In short, because of the inadequacy of data, it has been difficult to make any conclusive statements about the Kwamsisi school graduates' tendency to remain in the rural areas or to migrate into the towns.

(b) Occupations of the Kwamsisi School Graduates

Owing to time constraints experienced by the researcher it was not possible to find out what the graduates of Kwamsisi Primary School were doing in the village in sufficient detail as to make generalizations possible. However, it will be remembered from an earlier account of the findings of this study that there were some indications that standard seven graduates did not participate in the collective activities of the village, and that the village youth, according to some village members, were becoming village loiterers, engaging in gambling and smoking bangh.

Such were assessments of the Kwamsisi graduates by some village members. The assessment seemed to be supported by the researcher's observation of a cooperative agricultural activity on the village communal shamba.[53] It was also supported by the School Committee Chairman who in the deliberations of the committee raised his concern about the unbecoming behaviour of the village youth.[54]

It is probably interesting to learn that most of the boys who had remained in Kwamsisi village after their graduation enrolled in the crafts (Trade) School in Kwamsisi. The school, opened in April 1975, was built by the cooperation of the village elders, the pupils and teachers, the College of National Education and UNICEF. While the village, school and college provided the labour, UNICEF provided materials. The school is intended to provide instruction in carpentry and tinsmithery to the graduates of Kwamsisi and neighbouring villages and to the current standard seven pupils. The total enrolment of the graduates in this school is fourteen and attendance at least in the school's first two weeks was above 50 per cent.

From informal conversation and interviews with eight of the graduates enrolled in the new school it seemed that they knew why they joined the school. Save for one who had been advised by his parent to enrol, all said they were there to learn technical skills which would help them get an income. Asked exactly what they were going to do after they complete their technical training over 60 per cent seemed to have fairly specific plans such as "start a cooperative workshop either in the village or in town." One of the students intended to start his own workshop.

The above experiences of the graduates are important in that they are informative about some of the things that Kwamsisi graduates do. But those experiences do not provide enough facts which could be useful to make generalizations about the effectiveness of Kwamsisi education.

5. Possible Sources of Weakness in the Kwamsisi Educational Reform

Through this study it has been revealed that certain factors tended to affect negatively the inculcation of predispositions and practices of awareness, activity, self-help, and cooperation. It has been noted that teaching approaches that best provide the opportunity for the development of capabilities of problem identification and solution, individual initiative, and the attitudes for cooperation, were not being fully utilized by the teachers. In addition the school community link did not seem to encourage the participation of the younger generation in decision-making and implementation.

(a) The sources of the pedagogical weakness could be any or a combination of the following:

- the constraints of the Primary School Leaving Examination
- the teachers' tendency to use the old methods of teaching
- the narrow gap in basic educational levels between those of the teachers and of their pupils
- the minimal understanding by the teachers of the wider meaning of the primary educational reform as experimented in Kwamsisi.

(i) Constraints of the Primary School Leaving Examination

The Primary School Leaving Examination is given at the end of the primary education course. It is a written examination with questions essentially of the multiple-choice type. The pupils are examined in Mathematics, Kiswahili, English, and General Knowledge which includes Geography, History, Political Education and Science.

Even though coursework, especially of the last three years, is given consideration, the final examination tends to carry greater weight in the selection of the pupils for secondary education.[55] Most parents still look at education as a means for attaining economic advantages[56] and the performance of the teachers therefore still tends to be evaluated by the parents and some educators in terms of the number of pupils who pass well enough in the final examination to be selected for secondary education.

In view of this, the tendency among the teachers is for them to do more teaching especially in the final grade.[57] They do this for the express purpose of enabling the pupils to make a grade in the final examination. That being their aim, the teachers neglect the use of methods which tend to take a lot of their time. Such methods as practical work, students' problem solving and group work are usually neglected. This results in a pupil not given enough time to develop problem-solving skills and values.[58]

This could be a source of one of the problems in Kwamsisi. Through informal conversation with the teachers, one could see them taking a pride in the increase in the number of pupils who joined secondary schools in 1975 (Table 6). In addition, at times the teachers spend school vacations teaching standard-seven pupils,[59] and not the pupils in other grades.

The final examination presents a major structural constraint on implementing the Kwamsisi curriculum. While the examination provides the pupils with the chance of entering a secondary school which in turn puts them on the way up the socio-economic ladder, the Kwamsisi syllabus focusses on equipping the pupils with the skills and predispositions for living in the rural areas. The conflict in principles tends to provide an opportunity for the parents, the teachers and the pupils to work for the opportunity that promises relatively greater rewards - i.e. secondary education which is likely to lead to a more highly paying job in the modern sector of the economy.

(ii) Teacher's Professional Conservatism

"Conservatism" is used here to denote the tendency for teachers to use the "old" methods of teaching. Teachers are a product of the existing educational system which needs changing. They have attended school and have seen how their teachers teach. In addition they have been through teacher's colleges and have been taught how to teach. Perhaps some of the methods taught in the Colleges were more up-to-date but some of them may have been old since the tutors are themselves the product of the old system. The teachers then get to the field on first appointment and find a number of the old approaches being used. Coupled with the constraints of time and the accompanying threat of the examination which their pupils must sit and pass before they can be considered for entry into secondary schools, and which is used for determining whether the teacher is seriously doing his job or not, the teacher adopts the traditional ways of teaching. The teacher becomes the authority and the pupil the recipient or object. The teacher operates within what Freire refers to as the banking theory of education dishing out the educational knowledge and the pupil receiving it.[60] In this way pupil-oriented, problem-solving, group work and activity methods have no chance of being employed because they are relatively more demanding than the old approaches.

The problem of using out-dated methods may be relevant to Kwamsisi. It will be remembered from the account of the findings presented earlier that project and group-work approaches were rarely used by the Kwamsisi teachers and that their teaching me[illegible] tended to encourage little pupil-involvement in problem-solvin[illegible]cision-making both in classroom teaching and in outside-class activities. This does not discredit the teachers' efforts at encouraging student activity in some cases, for as shown earlier there were some situations in which the pupils were actively involved in the learning process. But the observation being made here is that such efforts could have been augmented and there were many opportunities which the teachers could have used to increase student involvement in the learning process.

(iii) Teacher's Level of Formal Education vis-a-vis that of his Pupils

In a social system where a teacher is expected to possess more school knowledge than his pupils do, the extent of difference in formal educational level between that of the teacher and of his pupils is important in the understanding of the teacher's performance and the teacher-student relationship in general. Normally when the teacher's basic education is of a level similar to that of his pupils, the teacher tends to be insecure in his task. His feeling of insecurity against potential educational challenges from the pupils affects his choice of the methods of teaching and his management of the class in general. As Beeby points out, the teacher with inadequate education (in relation to what he is expected to teach) will find it difficult to use the problem-solving approach which may provoke his pupils into asking questions he can hardly answer. In addition the teacher may find it difficult to confess ignorance.[61]

Kwamsisi like other primary schools in Tanzania, is staffed with teachers the majority of whom have had only seven or eight years of basic education before undergoing teacher training. Further their teaching load is quite heavy: thirty nine periods a week on the average[62] in addition to other village responsibilities,and therefore it becomes difficult for the teachers to get time enough to advance their education. It is also possible that the teachers do not have the motivation for continuous search for new knowledge from the available resources - the people, the land, and the existing institutions e.g. the dispensary, the local court,the church, the sisal estate etc. This lack of motivation can have its origins in the educational institutions which the teachers went through. Primary and secondary schools and Colleges of National Education may not be imparting the values and skills that enable the student to continue with learning especially outside school. The lack could also be due to inadequate opportunities for advanced education for teachers.[63]

(iv) Teacher's Understanding and Acceptance of the Reform

Long term success of a change depends on how well the intended change is understood and accepted by those who will be directly involved in bringing about the change, and the people for whom the change is intended. In terms of educational reform, it is important that the teachers as well as the parents understand and accept the reform if it is to succeed in long terms. A teacher who understands what values and skills of "independence" are and why he has to impart these values and skills to his pupils is in a better position to adopt student-oriented, problem-solving approaches to teaching than the teacher who does not understand what self-reliance skills and attitudes are and why they should be developed in his pupils.

In Kwamsisi there is evidence to suggest that teachers have accepted the policies of EFSR and the Kwamsisi project. This was revealed through the teachers' responses to interviews and informal conversation and through their active involvement in economic projects of the village and the school. In 1974 inter-regional primary school competition in economic projects, Kwamsisi won first place.[64] Yet it was also revealed that most of the teachers had only a vague notion of the reasons for the reform project in primary education in general and in Kwamsisi in particular. In fact some of the teachers approached the writer and asked what Kwamsisi Project was all about. Therefore another potential cause of the weaknesses in the pedagogy in Kwamsisi is the minimal understanding of the meaning of the reform on the part of the teachers.

(b) The sources of the weakness in the school-community link could be one or a combination of the following:

- the structure of the community decision-making institutions not involving the youth.
- the people's lack of understanding of the wider meaning of the school-community relationship.
- the non-involvement by the adult village members in cooperative activities.

(i) The Structure of the Decision-Making Institutions

It was earlier pointed out that the structure of Kwamsisi village did not allow the active, conscious involvement by the youth in the socio-economic activities of the village. In particular the decision-making bodies did not allow representation from the schooling children, not even the standard-seven pupils. And in accordance with the existing village constitution, young men and women below eighteen were not allowed membership in the village.

The situation tends to put the young into a passive position[65] and their most significant adult roles such as participating in deciding on what should be done to improve the socio-economic status of the village and taking an active part in the collective economic activities of the village are post-poned for too long. This is in consideration of the fact that most children in Kwamsisi will complete standard seven at fourteen. According to the village constitution such a young man or woman would have to wait for four years before he can have the right to participate effectively in the development of his village. What this amounts to is that education provided in Kwamsisi becomes education for docility which is against the aims and objectives of the EFSR policy.

(ii) The Lack of Understanding of the Meaning of the School-Community Link

Considerable evidence has been presented in the earlier sections of this chapter which indicates that the wider meaning of the school-community relationship had not been quite clear to most of villagers. Most people thought that the link served only the economic ends when it was actually supposed to serve a wider range of purposes - social, political, economic, and psychological. Specifically, the link was supposed to help in the preparation of young men and women with qualities that would facilitate their active participation in the rural development - qualities of cooperation, activity (and activity for economic development), self-help and awareness of the constraints and potentials of their society.

Failure to understand this wider meaning of the concept may lead to emphasizing only one of the necessary elements which will actually mean a failure to make education contribute to the well-being of the rural population.

(iii) Non-involvement by Villagers in Cooperative Activities

This study has attempted to provide some indications of why there has been non-participation of some village elders in community activities related to both the village and the school. The attitude is a danger for the successful socialization of the young generation into a more conscious, active, cooperative and self-reliant people. It acts as a restraining force against the school-community efforts in educating the young ones, especially in the values and practices of cooperation and participation.

Footnotes

1. The Conference resolutions are available in a pamphlet Conference on Education for Self-Reliance, issued by the Ministry of Education.

2. UNICEF, "First Addendum to Plan of Operations for Primary Education Reform in the United Republic of Tanzania (Mainland), 1971", p. 10, (Mimeographed.)

3. The revision of curriculum content and the methodology had been done by the Institute of Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, in collaboration with the national and international experts.

4. Grade C and B teachers usually have had a basic education for seven, eight or ten years plus two years of teacher training. Today Grade B is attained only through promotion from Grade C.

5. For a full text of the purpose of the Reform Project see UNICEF, "Plan of Operations for Primary Education Reform in the United Republic of Tanzania (Mainland)", Kampala, October 1969. (Mimeographed.)

6. Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical Africa Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: HMSO, 1925), p.4.

7. Ibid.

8. Paulo Freire regards colonialism as a culture of silence see his book Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972).

9. At the beginning of 1975, 220 new families moved into Kwamsisi planning to stay in the village. This necessitated a change in the number of representatives in the Committee. What is usually referred to as the "interim" Executive Committee consists of twenty-five members. From interview with the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

10. Kwamsisi School Headteacher's File SMK/USK/1.

11. Ibid.

12. Specifically, the dates of signing the agreement varied. UNESCO signed on 17 November, 1969, UNICEF on 3 December, 1969, and the Government of Tanzania signed on 4 February, 1970. See UNICEF, "Plan of Operations", p.1.

13. The first meeting of the Party leaders in the District, the ITEs and Principal of Korogwe College and the Village Executive Committee of Kwamsisi was held on 31 March 1971. The writer attended the meeting. See Kwamsisi Primary School Log Book in the Headteacher's Office.

14. The writer attended the meeting and was Chairman of the meeting.

15. The meeting was held in one of the Kwamsisi School buildings on 2 April 1971. See Kwamsisi Log Book.

16. Interview with Mathew Machoya, who coordinated the ITEs' activities at Korogwe College of National Education.

17. "Community Studies syllabus" in the Kwamsisi School Headteacher's file SMK/USK/I.

18. There were 220 other families in the village but these had been in the village for only three months and the researcher decided not to include them in the population because of their being new to the area.

19. These definitions have been adopted from M.K. Bacchus, "Some Observations on Curriculum Goals." Perspectives on Curriculum 1 (1972): 2-13.

20. Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Kiswahili Shule za Msingi (Madarasa ya I-VII) (Dar-es-Salaam: National Printing Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 1.

    Tanzania, Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Kiingereza Shule za Msingi (Madarasa ya I-VII), (Dar-es-Salaam: National Printing Co. Ltd., 1969), p.3.

21. Tanzania, Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Hesabu Shule za Msingi (Madarasa I-VII) (Dar-es-Salaam: National Printing Co. Ltd., 1969), p.1.

22. Ministry of National Education, "Primary School Reform - A Tanzanian Experience - Basic Education Seminar in East Africa, 1974" p. 11, (Mimeographed.)

23. Ibid.

24. The Ministry's annual reports of the progress of the primary educational reform in Tanzania, in which Kwamsisi Project is a component part, and other papers by Ministry officials or advisors e.g. A.C. Tosh, "The Kwamsisi Pilot Project" pp. 3-5 (Mimeographed.) MTUU, "Kwamsisi Pilot Project Progress Report", January 1974, p.1. (Mimeographed.)

25. The Self-Help Committee has nineteen members: fourteen pupils, three school teachers, and two village elders.

26. Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Siasa Shule za Msingi (Dar-es-Salaam: National Printing Co. Ltd., 1969.)

27. This choice has been influenced by ideas of such educators as Dewey and Bruner.

28. Standard V pupils had a class on malaria the previous day, with another teacher.

29. Malaria, coughing and wounds are the three most common ailments in Kwamsisi and seventeen neighbouring villages served by Kwamsisi dispensary. From the number of patients attending the dispensary every month, malaria is probably the most common. See Monthly Disease Returns 1974, Kwamsisi Dispensary.

30. There was a lot of activity in Self-Help and Cultural Activities such as agricultural work, sports, and singing. These have not been included in the discussion because they are activity-oriented anyway.

31. The classes were randomly chosen and included all the standards I-VII and all the teachers, and observation was done throughout three weeks.

32. In almost all the classes, there were two to five pupils who did not have exercise books because they had lost them, and did not have money with which to buy new books. Generally these pupils did not do the written assignments and the teachers seemed to have no immediate solution to the problem.

33. Standard II Arithmetic also showed some amount of group-work but perhaps less than that in Standard I Arithmetic.

34. Tanzania, Ministry of National Education, Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Historia Shule za Msingi (Dar-es-Salaam. National Printing Co. Ltd., 1969), p.9.

35. R.Z. Mwajombe,"The Tanzania/ Unicef/ Unesco Primary Reform Project (MTUU) Progress Report 1973", pp. 7-8. (Mimeographed.)

36. The workshop was informally opened by the Village Chairman on April 27, 1975 and a number of school-leavers started their classes on carpentry. The writer attended the function.

37. R.Z. Mwajombe, op.cit., p.7.

38. From conversation with the Chairman of the Kwamsisi Village on 11 April, 1975.

39. The village has two representatives in the pupil's Self-Help Committee.

40. Headteacher's file SMK / USK / I.

41. The cause for the failure of the crop has not been established.

42. A.C. Tosh, "The Kwamsisi Pilot Project" p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

43. R.Z. Mwajombe, op.cit., p. 7.

44. In Kwamsisi each member is given a plot on the communal farm which he takes care of in terms of weeding and harvesting. The cultivation and planting is done cooperatively. The products of the plot are essentially the individual's. The member has to give at least a fixed share of the product to the community.

45. From Observation.

46. In the meeting of the School Committee, which the writer attended, it was decided that the matter had been received by the Committee and that it was being dealt with by the village elders. The meeting was held on 17 April, 1975.

47. It is not known why the village elders were not involved in this activity. It is probable that the work did not demand much labour, since there were only 99 orange trees to be planted. On the other hand, it is possible that the parents were not notified about the task, as comments in the School Committee meeting on 12 April 1975 seemed to suggest.

48. The writer attended the meeting and the speech by the teacher was tape-recorded. This was on 12 April, 1975.

49. Some of the older boys never came back for the afternoon activities.

50. School Committee meeting held on 12 April, 1975. The writer attended it.

51. The meeting was held on 17 April, 1975 and the writer attended it.

52. Entry to such institutions demands the parent's and pupils' initiative: through making an application and, in case of private institutions, through payment of fees.

53. Tobacco-planting on 12 April, 1975.

54. School Committee meeting on 12 April, 1975. The writer was in attendance.

55. Informal interviews with three Tanzanian education officers who have had the experience in the selection of pupils for secondary education. The officers were B. Ed. students of the University of Alberta (1973-1975).

56. See Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Education, Stratification, and Sexism in Tanzania: Policy Implications" (Mimeographed).

57. MTUU, "Evaluation Report, December 1973", Institute of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam. (Mimeographed.)

58. MTUU, "Evaluation Report, December 1974", Institute of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam. (Mimeographed.)

59. Interview with the Kwamsisi School Headteacher.

60. An enlightening discussion of the banking theory in education by Freire is in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972), Ch. 2.

61. C.E. Beeby, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries* (Cambrodge: Mass: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 84.

62. Teaching periods are thirty-minutes each for Standards I-II and forty-minutes each for Standards III-VII. See Kwamsisi School Headteacher's file SMK/ USK / I.

63. M. B. Sanga, "Teachers' In-Service Education in Tanzania" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1974).

64. Interview with the Principal, Korogwe College of National Education. Also see the letter from the Koroqwe District Development Director.

65. M. R. Besha, "Education for Self Reliance and Rural Development" (Mimeographed.)

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to summarize the overall findings of the study, present some recommendations pertaining to the problems discovered through the study, and suggest related areas in which there is need for further inquiry.

A. Summary of the Findings

The findings of the study of Kwamsisi Project discussed in the preceding chapter indicate that the stated goals and the content of the Kwamsisi school curriculum are in congruence with the EFSR policy, but there is a discrepancy between the policy objectives and the way in which some aspects of the project are being implemented.

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance as mentioned in Chapter Three aimed at shaping the educational system such that it would provide a greater contribution to the solution of Tanzania's national development problems. Primary education about which this study was concerned was supposed to provide the youth with such predispositions and skills that would facilitate the youth's active participation in the development process especially in connection with the traditional sector of the economy. Thus the learner's awareness of his physical and social environment - its constraints and potentials, his knowledge of farming skills, attitudes and practices of activity, self-help, and cooperation were to be basic to the education provided under Kwamsisi experiment. Further it was hoped that the inculcation of those skills and attitudes would play an important role in stemming the tide of urban migration among the "educated" which is now a characteristic feature of most African societies.

These objectives were reflected in the stated goals and the content of Kwamsisi School curriculum. The statement of curriculum goals made references to the policy's key elements; the curriculum areas seemed to include all the aspects of EFSR aims - the inculcation of self-reliance, activity, cooperative effort, participation in decision-making and implementation; and the content of these areas of the curriculum stressed the importance of learning about the local environment and of using it as a basis for learning about the child's external world.

However, the study of what was being done in Kwamsisi to achieve the objectives of EFSR policy suggested that some aspects of the implementation of the project were inconsistent with the policy aims. Three major aspects of the Kwamsisi education were identified as reflecting this inconsistency. These were the Primary School Leaving Examination, the approaches to teaching used by most teachers, and the school-community link.

The Primary School Leaving Examination as noted earlier was one of the requirements that the pupils had to meet before they were selected for secondary education or certified that they had completed primary education. At the same time the examination was regarded by the parents, pupils and teachers as a very important aspect in primary education. For the parents and pupils it stood for a "gate" to a better life since entry into secondary school almost automatically led to a job in the modern sector of the economy which also meant an escape from the problems of rural life - hard and rough work with minimal rewards in terms of income and status, and poorer social services. For the teachers the examination represented a challenge since their professional competence was assessed by the educational officials as well as by the parents on the basis of the pupils' performance in that examination. The teachers were honoured, respected, given promotion to a higher professional grade or dishonoured or demoted depending on how well they prepared the pupils for that examination. For this reason both the teachers and the pupils worked hard to pass the examination.

But the Primary School Leaving Examination tended to emphasize the cognitive aspect of education at the expense of others - attitudes and practical skills. What this amounted to was that teachers in attempting to fulfil the requirements of that examination emphasized the cognitive elements more than the practical skills and attitudes such as those of cooperation and self-help. In this way the examination given at the end of the primary education course became an obstacle to the full realization of the aims and objectives of EFSR.

The second inconsistency was in the area of teaching methods. Some of the approaches used by the teachers in classroom teaching and in handling other school activities - shamba-work, maintenance of the compound and athletics - failed to provide the pupils with the opportunity for learning such skills and attitudes as critical thinking, and cooperation. The "banking" approaches to teaching such as narration, dictation, one way question method i.e. the teacher asking the student and not vice versa, was used much more frequently than the more "activistic" and "populist" approaches such as the problem-solving and group-work methods.

Critical thinking is essential in the development of awareness, in attitude and practice, of the problems of society and the possible solutions to those problems, while the attitude and practice of cooperation is basic to the existence of Ujamaa villages. Therefore the failure by schools or the community at large to inculcate such qualities in the youth becomes contrary to the goals of the educational policy.

The third aspect of implementation which reflected incongruence with the policy objectives is the school-community relationship. The community seemed to provide minimal opportunities for the actualization of the youth's skills and attitudes acquired through schooling such as cooperative activity, and participation in decision-making and implementation of decisions. As soon as they completed their primary education the youth went back to the parents' or relatives' homes where they were treated as children who could not do much on their own. While some parents instructed the youth to do one job or the other for the parents, others did not fully involve the young men and women in the family activities. Under such circumstances the school graduates' attitudes and practices of independence did not have much chance of being perpetuated and strengthened. In fact, in such situations attitudes of dependence which the youth had before going through schooling tended to be revived.

Further the community as a whole did not seem to consider as important bringing the youth closer to the community by involving them in decision-making institutions and in the collective activities of the village. The youth as mentioned earlier seemed to be regarded as being still premature to be of much help in the key functions of the community, hence the youth's non-involvement in the collective farm (except as dependents of individual parents), and the community's constitution restricting village membership to adults only above eighteen years. Again such situations tend to discourage the growth of independence and collective attitudes and practices and therefore militate against efforts at making schools prepare young men and women with the qualities considered by the leadership as significant for national development, and which are spelt out in EFSR policy.

In summary, it seems that the problems in the implementation of the EFSR policy are due to many factors. Some of them are related to Tanzania's existing social structure and others to the teaching situation.

1. Factors Related to the Social Structure

Tanzania is still a stratified society despite the leadership efforts in reducing the socio-economic inequalities between individuals and between groups of people. There are still income and status disparities among the workers on one hand, and between the workers and the peasant farmers, on the other. Higher income and status are still achieved mainly through education.[1] Employment opportunities in the modern sector are accessible to individuals with specified formal educational qualifications, that is, the higher the educational qualification of an individual, the better are his chances of securing a job with a higher income. In addition, the income levels are determined essentially by the individual's attained level of education. The distribution of status seems to correspond with the levels of education acquired and income earned. So that the achievement of a higher level of formal education tends to have many advantages - getting an employment in the modern sector, and then getting it much more easily than the person with a lower level of formal education, securing a more highly paying job and a higher status which accompanies the possession of a good job and high income.

Entry into higher educational institutions is attained through the process of selection which starts at the primary school, using the Primary School Leaving Examination as the major selection criterion. Since secondary and other higher levels of education promise the achiever of such an education a job with an income substantially higher than the average income of the ordinary farmer, such an education tends to be the focal point of the aspirations and interests of parents and their children. Hence passing the Primary School Leaving Examination assumes great significance for those parents and students in that it is likely to lead eventually to the attainment of a job in the modern sector, with its accompanying rewards - a regular income, a pension on retirement and other fringe benefits - which an average peasant farmer does not have.

But the curriculum requirements for the Primary School Leaving Examination differ in many ways from that formally developed for Kwamsisi. So what tends to happen is that the educational content which will help the pupils to pass this School-leaving examination, as noted earlier, is stressed at the expense of the type of education under experiment in Kwamsisi and which is oriented towards the attainment of the curriculum goals specific to the Kwamsisi Project.

Perhaps it should be stressed that the question is not simply one of the stratification of society since socio-economic distinctions per se do not sufficiently explain why people in countries like Tanzania should not completely rely on agriculture for incomes and why they should seek access to jobs in the modern sector. There must be other and probabky stronger forces against an effective implementation of educational reforms such as that in Kwamsisi. Admittedly some of the forces are in the attractiveness of the modern sector as noted above. But stronger forces are in the objective poverty of the mass of the people. That is, the majority of the people do not have enough incomes to meet some of their basic needs - clothing, and qualitatively and quantitatively adequate food.

Tanzania, like most Third World Countries, is poor, the income per capita in 1971 being Tanzania Shillings 623 (about US $ 90). Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and over 90 percent of the population depend on it for their livelihood. But agricultural output has been fluctuating and generally generating little income to the peasant farmers. This has been due to, inter alia, (a) a general fall in world prices of agricultural products e.g. cotton, sisal and coffee, the problem being compounded by the fact that the prices are controlled by the richer nations, the major buyers of the products; (b) a general lack of diversification of products on the district, regional, and national levels such that a fall in the prices of one or two products means a fall in the incomes of a good portion of the population; (c) rather regular adverse weather conditions affecting the quantity and quality of the products and therefore of the prices.

In this way agriculture tends to fail to provide the peasants with enough income to satisfy some of their basic needs. Consequently people look for opportunities which are likely to provide a higher income,

2. Factors Internal to the Teaching Situation

Three major factors related to the teaching situation and which tended to militate against an effective implementation of the educational reform in Kwamsisi were identified. These were:

(a) the teachers' professional conservatism which is strengthened by the fact that they are products of the old system and have had no preparation for teaching in an educational system such as Kwamsisi's. This imposed a constraint on the implementation of the new curriculum. The use of the "banking" methods, while benefitting a colonizer-colonized relationship in which only the former was entitled to be an active "subject" and the latter expected to be only a passive "subject", was out of place in a situation where everyone was expected to be an active participant in the development of his society.

(b) the narrow gap between the teacher's own educational level and the level of the learning experiences which his pupils were expected to acquire tended to put the teacher in a difficult position in relation to his teaching. Such was the case especially where the teacher was expected to provoke the pupils into thinking critically, making judgements, posing problems, applying principles in actual problem situations and questioning the validity of the principles used in solving the problems.

(c) the purpose of the educational reform in Kwamsisi was not quite clear to many of the participants in the programme and this lack of understanding of what the project was all about was observable both among teachers and villagers. The lack of clarity of the aims and objectives of the reform seemed to have led many of the participants including the teachers to formulate their own goals which were not necessarily congruent with the objectives of EFSR policy. This study revealed how the Kwamsisi villagers and teachers capitalized on the economic aspect of the reform as though it was the only basic element of the Kwamsisi experiment. As a result they tended to de-emphasize the social skills and the attitudinal variable which formed the basis of the educational reform project.

B. Recommendations

The problems discussed above are complex and demand that a variety of measures be taken to solve them. In this section it will be possible to suggest only a few of the solutions and only in summary form. The suggestions will be presented in two categories - at the societal level, and at the teaching level.

1. At the Societal Level

(a) The reward structure of the society has to be changed even further such that:

(i) a still greater investment is made in rural development. This is necessary to ensure that the rural area becomes more attractive in terms of social services and per worker productivity. The investment should include finance, materials and extension services.

(ii) income differences must continue to be progressively reduced in a manner that make the white collar and other jobs in the modern sector less attractive.

(iii) job opportunities should be open to a larger portion of the population. That is, the provision of jobs should also consider the potentials of the people who have not attended formal education. Through an expanded use of the on-the-job training that goal can be attained. The practice will also help to de-mystify the idea that well-paying jobs in the modern sector are only for those who have gone through school.

(b) Political socialization of the people in the policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance must continue. The people need to be aware of the national constraints and existing potentials in the society and the reasons for Government taking given actions. The improvement of the rural sector by the Government per se does not necessarily lead into the farmers increasing agricultural production or necessarily counter-act the tendency for primary school-leavers to migrate into areas where they can be employed. In fact it is possible that increased Government assistance to villages can have a negative effect on the peasant farmers' initiative and self-help in development as the experiences of the Settlement Schemes introduced over the First Five-year Plan period (1964-1969) suggest.

Indeed the reduction in incomes of employees, in implementation of egalitarian policies, may have far-reaching negative effects on economic development unless there is a thorough ideological understanding of why such measures were necessary. That is, "legitimacy" of such actions on the part of the Government will come about only through the people's awareness of the problems that prompted such an action, and of the existing potentials and constraints in solving those problems. The consciousness of the masses about the development problems of their society will also hopefully facilitate the masses' better understanding of the role of schools in Tanzania's development and will better prepare them to give their support to Government's efforts at reforming the educational system. In fact, the success of the schools in preparing the youth with socialist and self reliant attitudes and practices heavily depends on the attitudes of the adult population. Since Tanzania is not yet a socialist society which means socialist attitudes have not fully developed, it becomes even more necessary that the leadership concentrate their efforts in socializing the masses so that they attain that awareness so important for their effective socialization of the younger generation.

(c) In education, and primary education in particular, the evaluation and selection processes must be modified in order to provide a greater opportunity for pupils (and teachers) to acquire the qualities considered essential for their effective participation in rural development based on the principles of egalitarianism and self-reliance.

In particular, primary schools providing an education of the Kwamsisi type, should have no Primary School Leaving Examination for the reasons discussed in section (A) above. The evaluation of the pupils' performance should be made on course-work and on the graduates' performance at least in his first year of out-of-school life. The selection of pupils for entry into secondary or other institution should be based on three things, namely the pupil's application, his course-work performance, and his performance in his life in the community. Briefly such evaluation should be based on the following considerations:

(i) frequency and regularity, that is, evaluation should be frequent and regular with comprehensive records compiled, say twice a year. The records will be kept in the school and in the education office of the district to which the school belongs.

(ii) evaluation should cover all the curriculum areas.

(iii) evaluation should be done by a wide range of evaluators such as the local teachers, the parents, the pupils, and the education officers.

(iv) follow up studies should be made on all the school graduates at least in their first year after graduation. Such studies will help the school teachers and the child's community to identify the problems facing the graduate in his community life and to provide him with assistance to enable him to get actively involved in the community activities. In addition a systematic follow up will provide useful feedback for the teachers and the villagers in their efforts to socialize the younger children. It will finally help provide a better picture of the aptitudes of the graduates in cases of appointments, selection for further training etc.

2. At the Teaching Level

(a) From the experiences in Kwamsisi, and this is likely the case in other primary schools in Tanzania as the findings of the

Evaluation Unit of Tanzania/Unicef/Unesco Project suggest,[2] there is need to provide in-service teachers an orientation in methods that emphasize problem solving, critical thinking and group activity. Teacher-trainees should also be given greater opportunities in learning more "activistic" approaches to teaching. Perhaps a re-examination of the methodology employed in Colleges of National Education should first be made, after which the necessary modifications, if found necessary, should be introduced.

(b) The teachers' basic educational level can be raised through correspondence courses. Teachers should be encouraged to undertake studies to advance their education through such courses. This encouragement should be in the form of providing the courses in accordance with the teachers' interests, and spare time which can be spent on studies; week-ends, for instance, should be spared for this exercise.[3]

(c) The concept of school-community link in particular and community-education in general should be thoroughly understood by all those who are or will be involved in its operation - the parents, the teachers, and the youth. Because of their responsibility as educators, the teachers should understand the concept even more. Colleges of National Education, therefore, should assume this important role, that is, they should ensure that the teacher-trainees are made fully aware of the community-education, and community-school relationship - its constraints and potential as an educational strategy. Their knowledge, which they will need to share to the rest of the community members, will hopefully facilitate a more effective use of the strategy.

In-service teachers also need to know the meaning of school-community integration for the same reasons as do the teacher trainees.

Two measures should be taken to achieve the goal. First, seminars for in-service teachers should be conducted with the purpose of introducing them to the concept of school-community integration as experimented in Kwamsisi. The plan by the Ministry of National Education to use the film Shule ya Kijamaa (Socialist School)[4] in the orientation of in-service teachers, under the Tanzania/Unicef/Unesco Project is an action in the right direction. Second, teachers should be encouraged to hold frequent meetings in which they can exchange views on the problems they encounter in their implementation of the new curriculum, and should cooperatively suggest possible solutions to the problems. Some village leaders or their representatives should be participants in such meetings since the communities are supposed to be a component part in the new educational system.

C. Areas for Further Research

It has been found through this study that certain aspects of the problem of educational contribution to rural development have not been explored at all or have been only partly explored. The areas that are related to this study and which need searching into are as follows.

1. The occupations of primary school graduates. The purpose of this inquiry should be to see whether there is continuity in attitudes and practices which primary schools are supposed to inculcate. Another purpose should be to attempt an identification of the forces that facilitate or militate against the continuity and application of the principles and practices which EFSR policy suggests.

The ultimate aim of the inquiry should be to provide facts on which to base any action on the changes in the communities and/or in the schools.

2. The pedagogy used in Colleges of National Education - specifically the inquiry should be focussed on the following:
   (a) what methods the tutors instruct their students to use
   (b) what methods the tutors themselves use in organizing the learning experiences of their students.

   The purpose of the inquiry should be to see whether the teaching methods which the teacher-trainees acquire during their training are compatible with the aims and objectives of EFSR policy. In addition, the study should aim at examining the learning practices which the teacher trainees use. The knowledge of such practices can help in further understanding of the sources of weakness in their teaching methods. The ultimate goal of the inquiry should be to provide a means of improving the quality of pedagogy in primary schools.

3. The attitudes of government leaders, above the school and village levels, towards the integration of school and community. The rationale behind such a study is that in Tanzania, leaders assume the role of an educator. In view of their responsibility, therefore it is considered that their attitude is an important factor in the realization of development goals. The purpose of the study should be to find out the extent to which they understand and are in favour of

the school community link as a strategy for development and from the study to devise some means of generating ideas from them on improvements of the existing strategy or on better alternatives.

Footnotes

1. Politics provides another major avenue for vertical social mobility.

2. MTUU, "Evaluation Report, December 1974." (Mimeographed.)

3. At present there are many primary schools which operate on Saturdays, and Kwamsisi is one of such schools.

4. *Shule ya Kijamaa* is a film which focusses on the educational reform based on the Kwamsisi experiment. see R.Z. Mwajombe, "The Tanzania/Unicef/Unesco Primary Education Project Report - 1973." p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

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